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Cambridge, Mass.**

THE
HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO 1839.

BY
THOMAS KEIGHTLEY,
AUTHOR OF "THE HISTORY OF GREECE," "HISTORY OF ROME,"
"OUTLINES OF HISTORY," &c.

FROM THE SECOND LONDON EDITION.

WITH NOTES, &c.,

BY THE AMERICAN EDITOR.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

NEW-YORK:

PUBLISHED BY HARPER & BROTHERS,
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1843

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ADVERTISEMENT.

NEXT to the history of their own country, that of England, the land of their forefathers, is incomparably the most interesting to the American people. Indeed, considering that, for more than a century and a half, we were united to the mother country as colonies, and that, in consequence of this long political and social connexion, our character, institutions, and laws have been largely derived from her, the study of English history would seem indispensable to a proper knowledge and understanding of our own. This study is furthermore recommended to us by community of literature and language ; by many kindred sympathies and associations ; and, not least, by the vastly important political and commercial relations existing between the two countries, and which are daily becoming of greater consequence.

English history, therefore, has peculiar claims upon American readers ; and the publishers have consequently been led to believe that they could in no way render to them a more acceptable service than by issuing from their press these cheap and popular volumes. The reputation of Mr. Keightley as an able and learned historian is well established ; and the English periodicals have spoken of the pres-

ent work in terms of the highest praise. Such a work, expressly designed to be attractive and useful to the greatest number of readers, popular in style and in its character generally, and, at the same time, satisfactory and full on the subject to which it relates, may, we think, notwithstanding the great number of English histories, be considered a desideratum. Almost the only really popular history of England of established reputation is that by Goldsmith, which, however beautiful in style, is sadly defective as an authentic narrative of facts. For these reasons, the publishers entertain a hope that, for the use of readers generally, the present work will be found decidedly superior to any other.

Numerous notes by the American editor appear in this edition, with such other variations as were deemed essential to render the work more complete in itself, and better adapted to interest and instruct the great body of readers. A copious Index has also been added, which was not in the English copy.

The present is from the last London edition, greatly enlarged and otherwise improved.

HARPER & BROTHERS.

New-York, May, 1840.

PREFACE.

It is very remarkable, that, although there is a large class of persons who are anxious to possess an acquaintance with the history of their country, but who have not leisure to read voluminous works, few, if any, attempts have been made to supply their want. If we except mere schoolbooks, the only moderately-sized and readable History of England is that of Goldsmith, in three volumes octavo. It is very well known how slenderly furnished that most agreeable writer was with the knowledge requisite for the task he undertook; and it has been justly observed, that, even had he possessed all the requisite information, such a mass of additional materials has been brought to light within the last half century as would render a new work necessary. It is proposed to supply this deficiency by the present History, which aims at giving, in a moderate compass, such an account of the affairs of England, from the earliest times down to the present day, as may satisfy the reasonable expectations of the class of readers above referred to.

The besetting sin of our historians is party spirit. We have no Thucydides or Thuanus. The partiality of Hume is discreditable to philosophy; but if

he is partial on the one side, Brodie, Godwin, and some late writers are fully as much so on the other. An impartial history (particularly of the House of Stuart) is undoubtedly still wanting in English literature. With respect to the present work, it would not be safe to say that it is perfectly free from error, or that prejudice may not have affected some of the statements ; but I can truly assert, that the influence of this principle has been imperceptible to myself, and most certainly I have never wilfully suppressed or distorted the truth.

My situation I conceive to be favourable for the discovery and delivery of truth in history. I belong to no sect or party in religion or politics.

The plan on which this history has been written is as follows. The events of the early periods and of that of the Plantagenets have been related with such details as were requisite to give them interest. The Tudor period, being that of the great transition in government and religion, has naturally been treated at tolerable length ; while all the space that could be obtained within the prescribed limits has been devoted to the most important, the most interesting, annals of the House of Stuart. Contrary to the general practice, the portion allotted to the House of Brunswick is of less extent than that given to either of the preceding periods. This plan I adopted on mature deliberation, before a single page of the work was written, and for the following reasons.

The probability is, that the greater number of the readers of the present work will never have leisure, or perhaps inclination, to read a more voluminous narrative. If, therefore, they did not meet the events of the early history here, they might remain ignorant of them. The same reason applies with still greater force to the far more important period of the Tudors. Thus far, however, there is, comparatively speaking, little difference among Protestant writers: but with the Stuarts commences the war of prejudice; the conflict of parties then began which has ever since continued, and to the narrator of it may justly be said,

*Periculosæ plenum opus alæ
Tractas, et incedis per ignes
Suppositos cineri doloso.*

Here then, if anywhere, details are absolutely necessary; the testimonies of opposing parties must be produced, and events stated with all their circumstances. With the accession of the House of Brunswick the great political contest terminated. The history henceforth consists chiefly of the struggles of Whigs and Tories for place, with its patronage and emoluments, of debates in parliament, and of long and scientific foreign wars. All these, to be interesting, or even intelligible, must be narrated in minute detail; and to do this would be quite subversive of the plan of the present work. With respect to wars, and battles by sea and land, I remember and

approve of the advice on this head given by Duke Schomberg to Bishop Burnet ; and I fully agree with Horace Walpole as to the wisdom of those who are not professional men, attempting to detail the extensive combinations and complex evolutions of the warfare of the eighteenth century. To confess the truth, I have contrived in vain to comprehend the battles of Blenheim and Malplaquet in Coxe, and even those of Salamanca and Vittoria in Napier are not perfectly clear to me. There must be maps and plans, and a familiarity with military terms, which few readers possess, before we can understand them. The same holds good of naval engagements. There are, moreover, so many lives of Washington, Wellington, Nelson, and other generals and admirals, and so many narratives of the more interesting portions of the reigns of the Georges, that probably, by many readers, the bird's-eye view of them here given will be preferred to a more ample narrative. Should this reasoning, however, not prove satisfactory, I must bow to the public decision, and extend the work in a future edition, if such should be called for.

I have seldom referred to any of the late writers on the History of England except Mackintosh and Lingard. The profound but rather rhetorical reflections of the former I have occasionally transferred to my pages, and I have felt it incumbent on me to point out what I regard as the erroneous statements

of the latter. Dr. Lingard's object is to prove that the Reformation was needless, as the preceding state of religion required no improvement; and pernicious, as it was injurious to morality, and originated in vicious motives. On these points I think quite differently. At the same time, I most freely acknowledge the industry, sagacity, clearness, animation of style, and other merits of Dr. Lingard. I have made him my principal guide in my history of the Plantagenets, and I think he has treated that of the Stuarts more impartially than any other historian of the present day. I bear him or his church no malice, but I must defend the interests of Protestantism where it is unjustly assailed.

I may here inform the reader that the present history is not a mere compilation or abridgment. In the early part I have derived my materials directly from the Saxon Chronicle and the other original authorities. I have then taken Lingard as my chief guide (where his religion was not concerned), but with a constant reference to the authorities. From the accession of the House of Tudor I have trusted only to contemporary writers, most of whom I have read, and all of whom I have frequently consulted. Instead of mere references, the very words of an authority are often placed in the text, by which practice space is saved, and the reader is enabled to judge for himself.

T. K.

London, October 7th, 1839.

CONTENTS

OF

THE FIRST VOLUME.

ANGLO-SAXON PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

BRITAIN UNDER THE ROMANS.

B.C. 55—A.D. 450.

The Britons.—Landing of Cæsar.—Caractacus.—Boadicea.—Agricola.—State of Roman Britain Page 17

CHAPTER II.

THE ANGLO-SAXON KINGDOMS.

450—827.

The Germans.—Hengist and Horsa.—The Heptarchy.—The Britons.—Conversion of the Saxons.—Offa of Mercia.—**ETHERBERT** of Wessex 25

CHAPTER III.

KINGS OF WESSEX SOVEREIGNS OF ENGLAND.

800—925.

The Danes.—**ETHELWULF**.—**ETHELBALD**.—**ETHELBERT**.—**ETHERED**.—**ALFRED THE GREAT**.—**EDWARD I.** (the Elder) 37

CHAPTER IV.

ANGLO-SAXON SOVEREIGNS OF ALL BRITAIN.

925—1016.

ATHELSTAN.—Battle of Brunanburgh.—**EDMUND**.—**EDRED**.—**EDWY** (the Fair).—Saint Dunstan.—**Elgiva**.—**EDGAR** (the Pacific).—**Elfrida**.—**EDWARD II.** (the Martyr).—Dunstan's Miracles.—**ETHELRED** (the Unready).—Massacre of the Danes; their Conquests.—**EDMUND II.** (Ironside) 49

VOL. I.—B

CHAPTER V.

DANISH KINGS, AND SAXON LINE RESTORED.

1016-1066.

CANUTE.—HAROLD I. (Harefoot).—HARDACNUTE.—EDWARD III. (the Confessor).—Godwin.—Harold.—Harold in Normandy.—HAROLD II.—Defeat of the King of Norway.—Landing of the Duke of Normandy.—Battle of Hastings Page 68

CHAPTER VI.

THE ANGLO-SAXON CONSTITUTION.

Division of the People.—Magistrates.—Division of the Land.—Courts of Justice.—Witena-gemot.—Punishment of Crimes.—Ordeals.—Freeborh or Frankpledge.—Feudal Usages.—The Church.—The Revenue 86

ANGLO-NORMAN PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

WILLIAM I. (THE CONQUEROR).

1066-1087.

Coronation of William; his Return to Normandy.—Conquest of the West and North of England.—Hereward.—Rebellion of Norman Nobles.—Dissensions in the Royal Family.—Fall of Bishop Odo.—War with the King of France.—Death and Funeral of the Conqueror; his Character Page 97

CHAPTER II.

WILLIAM II. (RUFUS).

1087-1100.

War with Robert of Normandy.—The Crusade.—Primate Anselm.—Death of William; his Character 116

CHAPTER III.

HENRY I. (BEAUCLERC).

1100-1135.

The King's Marriage; his Contest with Duke Robert.—Fate of Robert.—William Fitz-Robert.—Death of Prince William; of Fitz-Robert; of the King.—Character of Henry 123

CHAPTER IV.

STEPHEN.

1135-1154.

Usurpation of Stephen.—Miseries endured by the People.—War between Stephen and the Empress; between Stephen and young Henry.—Death of Stephen Page 130

CHAPTER V.

ANGLO-NORMAN CONSTITUTION.

Effects of the Conquest.—Feudal System.—State of the Church.—Courts of Law.—Taxes 138

HOUSE OF PLANTAGENET.

CHAPTER I.

HENRY II. (PLANTAGENET).

1154-1189.

Dominions of Henry.—War of Toulouse.—History of Thomas à Becket.—Contest between him and the King.—Murder of Becket.—Invasion of Ireland.—Wars between Henry and his Sons.—Death and Character of the King.—Changes in the Law of England Page 149

CHAPTER II.

RICHARD (CŒUR DE LION).

1189-1199.

Preparations for the Crusade.—Massacre of the Jews.—Richard's Crusade; Captivity in Germany; Return to England; his Death; Character.—Longbeard 180

CHAPTER III.

JOHN (LACKLAND).

1199-1216.

Accession of John; his Marriage.—Capture and Murder of Prince Arthur.—Loss of Normandy.—Contest with the Pope.—John becomes a Vassal of the Holy See.—Magna Charta.—War between John and his Barons; his Death 191

CHAPTER IV.

HENRY III. (OF WINCHESTER).

1216-1272.

Submission of the Barons.—Hugh de Burgh.—War with the King of France.—Exertions of the Pope.—Efforts to restrain the King's Prodigality.—Simon de Montfort.—The Mad Parliament.—Battle and Mise of Lewes.—Origin of the House of Commons.—Escape of Prince Edward.—Defeat and Death of Leicester.—Statutes of Marlbridge.—Death of the King

Page 206

CHAPTER V.

EDWARD I. (LONGSHANKS).

1272-1307.

Edward in the East.—Petty Battle of Chalons.—Reduction of Wales.—Affairs of Scotland.—Loss of Guienne.—Battle of Dunbar.—William Wallace.—Battle of Stirling.—Battle of Falkirk.—Reduction of Scotland.—Robert Bruce.—Death and Character of Edward.—State of the Constitution . . . 235

CHAPTER VI.

EDWARD II. (OF CAERNARVON).

1307-1327.

Piers Gaveston.—Battle of Bannockburn.—Hugh Spenser.—Execution of the Earl of Lancaster.—Hostile Conduct of the Queen.—Execution of the Spensers.—Deposition and Murder of the King 260

CHAPTER VII.

EDWARD III. (OF WINDSOR).

1327-1377.

Peace with Scotland.—Tyranny of Mortimer; his Seizure and Execution.—Affairs of Scotland.—Battle of Halidon Hill.—Edward claims the Crown of France.—Invasion of France.—The Countess of Montfort.—Invasion of France.—Battle of Creci.—Siege of Calais.—Battle of Poitiers.—State of France.—Peace of Bretigni.—The Black Prince in Spain; his Death.—Death of the King.—State of the Constitution.—Windsor Castle and the Order of the Garter 272

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

ANGLO-SAXON PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

BRITAIN UNDER THE ROMANS.

B.C. 55—A.D. 450.

The Britons.—Landing of Cæsar.—Caractacus.—Boadicea.—Agricola.—State of Roman Britain.

If in imagination we transport ourselves back in time for a space of about two thousand years, and view the isle of Britain, whose vales and plains are now blooming with the riches of cultivation, whose numerous cities and towns are animated with the activity of commerce and manufacture, whose fleets ride triumphant on the most distant oceans, and whose political institutions claim the admiration of the world, a widely different scene will appear before us. We shall behold a region covered with forests and spreading into marshes; its inhabitants a rude, barbarous race, subsisting chiefly on the milk and flesh of their numerous herds of cattle, with little of agriculture, and few of the useful arts; their towns mere enclosures in the woods; their dwellings rude wicker cabins; their only vessel the *coracle*, or boat of framework, covered with skins. Nearly as low in the scale of humanity, as her colonists in after-times found the aborigines of the New World, were the original tribes

* Authorities: Cæsar, Suetonius, Tacitus, Dion Cassius, the Augustan and following historians. See Appendix (A).

of Britain when the legions of Rome first landed on her shores.

The indigenous inhabitants of the British isles were beyond doubt a portion of the Celtic race, whose seats on the mainland extended eastward to the Rhine, and southward far into Spain. The manners, customs, and institutions of the whole race were the same, only varying according to their geographical position; their rudeness and barbarism declining as they came near more civilized countries. Like all races in a low state of culture, the Celts were divided into numerous independent tribes, and warfare evermore prevailed among them. These tribes were composed of three classes or orders: the sacerdotal order, named Druids, the nobility, and the common people. All knowledge was in the hands of the Druids. They were the priests, the philosophers, and the judges of the people. Those who refused to submit to their sentence were punished by excommunication; and, as the Celtic race has been at all times prone to superstition, this weapon was as powerful in their hands as in those of the Romish clergy of after-ages. They were presided over by an arch-Druid, who held his office for life. They formed not a *caste*, but an *order*, into which any one who was duly qualified might be admitted. The Druids had a peculiar system of physics and astronomy; they taught in verses, which were never committed to writing; their chief doctrine was that of the Metempsychosis, or passage of the soul into various bodies; and their religious system was dark and sanguinary. The order enjoyed immunity from all taxes and imposts, and were not required to serve in war. The nobility exercised a despotic power over the inferior people, who were in a state of the most abject slavery; and the power of the Vergobret, or prince of each tribe, was absolute.

We thus see that the institutions of the Celtic tribes offered a striking resemblance to those of the East: the same degrading thralldom of the people, the same exaltation of the sacerdotal order as in Egypt and India; even the employment of chariots in war

was common to both regions. Hence many have derived the Celtic religion and institutions immediately from Asia; but this is a theory of which there is no need, and for which no satisfactory evidence has been offered.

The Celts of Britain had dwelt for ages in the seclusion of their isle, without any direct intercourse with the civilized nations round the Mediterranean, when at length the arms of Rome reached the opposite coast of Gaul. We are certainly told much of a direct trade to Britain by the Tyrians and their colonists of Carthage, but no proofs of this are to be found; and it is much more probable that the tin, iron, and other minerals of the island were conveyed overland to Spain or the south of Gaul, and there disposed of to the foreign traders. We are also of opinion that the mines of Britain were wrought by the Germans, who, under the name of Belgians, had colonized its southern coast, and not by the natives; and that it was in their large vessels, and not in the British *coracles*, that the commerce was carried on with the Continent.

Such, then, was the state of Britain when, 55 years before the birth of Christ, Julius Cæsar, being engaged in his project of subduing Gaul as a means to the enslaving of his own country, thought that the invasion of an island which was regarded as beyond the limits of the world might redound to his advantage at Rome. He accordingly embarked with two legions; and, having effected a landing near Deal, on the coast of Kent, defeated the natives who came to oppose him; but, as it was not convenient for him to make any stay in the country, he granted the Britons peace on their promise of sending him hostages, and returned to Gaul. In the following spring, he landed with a force of five legions and two thousand horse. The Britons, who, laying aside their jealousies, had given the supreme command to Cassivelaunus, prince of the Trinobantians,* opposed without effect his passage of the Stour. He afterward forced the passage of the

* See Appendix (B).

Thames above Kingston, took Cassivelaunus's chief town, received the submission and hostages of several states, and, having imposed tributes (which never were paid), quitted Britain for ever.

The civil war occupied the remainder of Cæsar's life. The policy of his successor, Augustus, was adverse to extending his already enormous empire; yet an intercourse was kept up with the British chiefs, some of whom made offerings on the Capitol, and they allowed duties to be levied on the commerce between Britain and Gaul.* The policy of Tiberius was similar to that of his predecessor. The frantic savage Caligula, to whom the empire next fell, led the army, at the head of which he was plundering Gaul, to the coast opposite Britain, A.D. 36. The warlike engines were set in order, when lo! he issued his commands to the expecting troops to charge the ocean, and gather its shells as spoils due to the Capitol and Palatium!

At length, while the imperial throne was occupied by the feeble Claudius, in the year 43, the plan of conquering Britain was seriously resumed. An exiled British prince having applied to the emperor, orders were issued to A. Plautius, who commanded in Gaul, to invade the island. The Roman soldiers at first hesitated to embark. When they landed they found no enemy to oppose them, for the Britons had fled to their forests and marshes, thinking the invaders would retire; but Plautius hunted them out, and subdued the country south of the Thames. The emperor himself soon after appeared in Britain, crossed the Thames, and routed an army of the natives; and, having been in the island but sixteen days in all, returned and triumphed at Rome. The war in Britain was continued by Plautius and his lieutenant Vespasian, the future emperor. The command was afterward, in 51, given to P. Ostorius, who carried his arms to the Avon and the Severn. He easily routed the Icenians. The resistance of the Silurians, under their gallant chief Caractacus (Caradoc), was more

* Strabo, iv., 5.

stubborn; but the legions were victorious in a great battle, in which the family of the chief became captives, and he himself, seeking refuge with Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantians, was by her basely surrendered. They were led before the tribunal of Claudius, in the presence of assembled Rome. The British prince addressed the emperor in dignified and manly terms, and life and liberty were granted to him and his family.

The defeat and capture of Caractacus did not end the war. The Silurians still gave the Romans abundant employment, and Ostorius died, worn out with care and anxiety. His successors, Didius and Veranius, carried on the conflict without much success. At length, in 62, the command in Britain was given to Suetonius Paulinus, an officer of great ability and courage. Regarding the isle of Mona, or Anglesea, which was the chief seat of the Druids, as the centre of union and focus of resistance among the Britons, he resolved to reduce it. He led his army to the strait of the Menai; they beheld the opposite shore covered by armed Britons, among whom, with wild gestures, dishevelled locks, and brandishing flaming torches, ran women exciting them to courage, while the Druids stood apart, and with hands upraised to heaven devoted the invaders of their sacred isle. The Romans paused: at length, urged by the voice of their general, they advanced their standards. The foe made but a brief resistance; and the isle became the dominion of the victors, who built there a fort, and cut down the groves which so often had witnessed the human sacrifices offered by the Druids.

While Suetonius was thus engaged, he was summoned to quell an insurrection in the part called the Province. The King of the Icenians, when dying, had followed the Roman practice of making Cæsar heir, along with his two only daughters, hoping thus to secure their succession: but the Roman officers entered on his kingdom as a conquered country; they treated with the greatest indignity the princesses, beat and scourged their mother, Boadicea, and plundered and

enslaved the nobles. Joined by the Trinobantians, the Icenians flew to arms. The veterans who had been placed as a colony at Camalodunum (Maldon), having behaved with the usual violence and insolence of the Roman military colonists, were the first objects of attack. They were utterly destroyed; and the legate Cerealis, who was leading his troops to their aid, was defeated.

Suetonius, on coming by forced marches to Londinium (London), found it necessary to leave that flourishing city and the municipal town of Verulamium (St. Albans) to their fate; and seventy thousand persons were slaughtered in them by the Britons. The Roman general, having drawn together a force of about ten thousand men, took up a position flanked by eminences, his rear being secured by a wood. The plain in front was soon filled with troops and squadrons of the advancing foes. Boadicea, bearing her insulted daughters in her car, drove from nation to nation, exhorting them to avenge their injuries. The fight began; but victory soon took the side of skill and discipline, and eighty thousand Britons, it was said, were slain. Boadicea terminated her life by poison. Fire, sword, and famine then wasted various parts of the island.

The successors of Suetonius were inactive; Vespasian, when emperor, gave the command in Britain to Cerealis, who made war with success against the Brigantians, and then to Frontinus, who subdued the Silurians. He next committed Britain to Cnæus Julius Agricola, a man who united in his person all the civil and military virtues. Soon after his arrival, in the year 80, he retook Mona, of which the Britons had repossessed themselves. He then devoted himself to conciliating the minds of the natives by a proper regulation of the tributes, and by introducing justice into the administration of affairs. After some time, in 82, he led out his troops and conquered the country to the æstuary of the Taus (Tweed?); and the next year he built a line of forts from the Frith of Forth to that of Clyde. He had some thoughts of invading Ireland,

one of whose princes, being expelled, had sought his aid; and he was of opinion that a single legion and a few auxiliaries would suffice for the conquest of that island, whose people were even more barbarous than the Britons.

The tribes north of the friths, who were called Caledonians, meantime, in 85, prepared for war. They assailed the Roman forts; they also fell on the ninth legion in the night, and were near overcoming it. Agricola resolved to invade their country, and advanced as far as the Grampians, which he found occupied by an army of thirty thousand warriors, which was receiving daily accessions of strength. Each clan was led by its own chief; but the superior abilities of Galgacus were acknowledged by all, and the chief command was given to him. The infantry, armed with claymore and target, occupied the hills; the horse and war-cars moved about on the plain. But vain as ever were the arms and courage of the mountaineers against the discipline of the legions: the night beheld ten thousand Caledonian warriors lying dead on the plain. Agricola having advanced somewhat farther into the country, and forced some of the tribes to give him hostages, led his army back to winter-quarters. His fleet meantime sailed northward, and, having succeeded in circumnavigating the island, returned to its usual station at Sandwich.

The conquests of Agricola gave the Roman dominion in Britain its greatest extent. All the native tribes, south of the friths, lived henceforth in peaceful submission to the emperor; the Roman language and manners were gradually diffused among them; colonies and municipal towns were spread over the island; and war was unknown, except on the northern frontier, where the untamed Caledonians gave the legions occasional employment. Against their incursions the Emperor Hadrian, when in Britain, built a wall from the Tyne to the Solway Frith; and in the reign of his successor, Antoninus, a similar wall was constructed on the line of the forts which had been raised between the friths by Agricola. The distance

of Britain from the seat of government, and the security of its insular position, often excited its prefects to assume the imperial purple, and it was hence named "an isle fertile of usurpers (*tyrannorum*).^{*} The two most celebrated of these usurpers were Carausius, at the end of the third, and Maximus, at the end of the fourth century.

During the period of Roman dominion, the zeal of the early Christians introduced the beneficent religion of the Gospel into Britain, as into all other parts of the empire; and it became the dominant faith throughout the Romanized part of the island. The names of Pelagius, a Welshman, and of Celestius, a North Briton, are famous on account of their peculiar doctrines with respect to original sin and free-will, which caused them to be ranked among the heretics of those times.*

When internal decay, and the pressure of the barbarians from without, were menacing the existence of the empire, the troops were gradually withdrawn from the more remote provinces. The Picts,† as the people north of the friths were now called, being strengthened by the Scots of Ireland, who had settled on the west coast of their country, began to pour in their ferocious hordes on the Roman province. They even reached and plundered London, and, though defeated,

* Pelagius maintained that Adam was naturally mortal, and would have died whether he had sinned or not; that his sin affected only himself, and that children at their birth are as pure and innocent as he was at his creation; that the grace of God is not necessary to enable men to do their duty, overcome temptation, and attain perfection, all which they can do by the freedom of their wills and the due exercise of their natural powers. It has been ingeniously supposed that the real name of Pelagius was Morgan, i. e., *Sea-born*, of which Pelagius is the Greek equivalent.

† Dr. Lingard makes it nearly certain that Picts was only another name for the Caledonians. The most probable derivation of their name is from their custom of *tattooing* their bodies with the figures of animals; whence the Romans naturally called them the Painted (*Picti*). Those who regard them as a different race from the Caledonians, derive their name from the Teutonic *Fechter*, *fighter*, holding them to have been German or Scandinavian conquerors of the Caledonians.

renewed without ceasing their incursions. The Saxons from the opposite coast of Germany also made frequent plundering descents on the unwarlike province. The legions were at length totally withdrawn, and the Britons left to their own resources. Instead, however, of uniting against the common enemies, their princes and chiefs wasted their powers in contests for the supremacy of the island. At length, in 449, Gwerthern, or Vortigern, a British prince, being hard pressed by his rival for dominion, Aurelius Ambrosius (who claimed descent from Maximus), and harassed by the incessant inroads of the Scots and Picts, resolved on the fatal expedient of taking a body of the Saxon freebooters into his service, and he formed a treaty with two of their chiefs, named Hengist and Horsa.

CHAPTER II.

THE ANGLO-SAXON KINGDOMS.*

450-827.

The Germans.—Hengist and Horsa.—The Heptarchy.—The Britons.—Conversion of the Saxons.—Offa of Mercia.—Egbert of Wessex.

THE Germanic or Teutonic race, which occupied Europe east of the Rhine, differed in language, religion, manners, and external appearance from their western neighbours, the Celts. The love of liberty was a leading trait in their character; their obedience to their chiefs was free and voluntary; their religion was no slavish superstition; and the German quailed not, like the Celt, before a sacerdotal order. He held the female sex in honour; and nowhere was valour seen to pay greater homage to beauty than in the for-

* Authorities: Gildas, Nennius, Bede, Saxon Chronicle, Ethelward, Malmesbury, Huntingdon, Higden, Florence.

ests of Germany. The Germans farther differed from the Celts in their passion for maritime enterprise; and, while the latter had only their hide-covered coracles to creep along the shore,* the Germans ploughed the waves and faced the storm in strong, well-rigged ships.† This led them, like the ancient Greeks, to combine piracy with trade; and we may suppose that, after the Roman conquest of Gaul and Britain, and the consequent increase of luxury and wealth in these countries, the practice of piracy became more extensive among the maritime Germans.

These piratic tribes were the Jutes of the Cimbric peninsula, or Jutland, the Angles of Jutland and Holstein, and the Saxons, who dwelt thence to the Rhine. Hengist and Horsa, to whom Vortigern applied, were Ealdormen, or chiefs of the Jutes; and the tradition is, that they came to his aid with three *chiule* (keels, i. e., ships), carrying sixteen hundred men. In imitation of the Roman practice of granting lands for military service, Vortigern bestowed on them the isle of Thanet, whither numbers of their countrymen repaired to join them. Their arms were successful against the Scots and Picts; but when the Britons refused to comply with their farther demands, they joined these northern tribes, and spread their ravages over the whole island. The Britons, led by Vortimer, the son of Vortigern, whom they had deposed for his vices and incapacity, now resisted with all their might; and in one battle, fought at Aylesford in 455, Horsa was slain. Hengist then associated with himself his son Eric, or Æsk; and a series of victories gave them possession of the whole of Kent, which was the first of the kingdoms formed by the invaders.

* The Venetans of Gaul, who fought with Cæsar on the sea (B. G., iii., 8-16), might seem to form an exception; but Strabo (iv., 4) assures us they were Belgians, and these were always regarded as of Germanic origin.

† Among other reasons for regarding the navigation of the Germans and their northern kindred as homesprung, may be mentioned, that the names of a ship, and all its parts, are original terms of their languages, and not adopted from the Latin, Greek, or Punic.

The British writers relate the following anecdotes in connexion with these events ; but they probably are mere fictions to cover the disgrace of defeat. Hengist, they say, had a beautiful daughter, named Rowena, whom he resolved to employ as a means to extend his influence over the British king. At a banquet given by Hengist, the fair Rowena advanced, bearing a golden goblet filled with wine, and presented it to Vortigern,* who, having thus an opportunity of contemplating her beauty, became enamoured. He asked and obtained her of her father ; and, as was to be expected, she used an injurious influence over his mind. Again, it is said that after the first war between the Britons and Saxons, a banquet, the scene of which was the celebrated Stonehenge, was held at the ratification of a peace ; but the treacherous Hengist had made his companions conceal their *seaxes*, or short swords, beneath their garments ; and on his crying out, as had been concerted, " Lay hold on your seaxes" (*Nimeth eure seaxes*), they fell on and slew three hundred of the British nobles, and made Vortigern a prisoner.†

To return to the history. The Jutes were followed by the Saxons. A chief, named Ella, landed, in 477, with his three sons, to the west of Kent, defeated the Britons, and drove them into the wood of Andredes-leage.‡ He again, in 490, routed them, and took and razed their town of Andredes-ceastre. He then formed the kingdom of the South Saxons, which embraced the modern county of Sussex.

Another body of Saxons, led by Cerdic and his son Cynric, landed, in 494, to the west of the kingdom of the South Saxons. They also were victorious against the Britons, and they gradually conquered the country

* Her words on this occasion were, *Was heal, hlaforð conung!* ("Health to thee, lord king!") from the first two of which was formed the old English *wassail*. The usual reply was, *Drinc heal*.

† These legends are related by Nennius. Gildas does not seem to have known them.

‡ The *Weald* (that is, *wood*) of Kent, Sussex, and Surrey is the remains of this forest.

from Sussex to the river Avon in Hampshire. They also passed the Thames, and subdued the country as far as Bedford. These were called the West Saxons; and the kingdom of Cerdic was named Wessex.

The Saxons at this time also established themselves on the east coast, where they formed the kingdom of the East Saxons, or Essex, of which that of the Middle Saxons, or Middlesex, was a part.

The Angles now followed the example of their kindred tribes; and a large body of them occupied the country to the north of Essex, which was named from them East Anglia. Here they were divided into two portions, named the North-folk, or Norfolk, and the South-folk, or Suffolk.

The country from the Humber to the Frith of Forth was occupied by the British kingdoms of Deyfyr (Deira) and Bryneich (Bernicia), which were separated by the Tyne. The Jutes and Saxons are said to have invaded Bernicia in the time of Hengist, but without much success. At length, in 547, Ida, the Angle, landed with a large force at Flamborough Head, and speedily made himself master of the country. It is not known how the conquest of Deira was achieved: but in 560 we find it under the dominion of the Angle Ella. Deira and Bernicia were afterward, under the name of Northumbria, united under one monarch; and the kingdom thus formed was the most powerful in the island.

The country south of Deira and west of Anglia was regarded as *march* or border land towards the Britons, whence its name of Mercia. It was chiefly settled by the Angles. A great part of the population continued British, and it was divided into a number of states. Mercia was at first, it would seem, under the supremacy of Northumbria; but a fierce chief, named Penda, cast off the subjection in 626; conquests were made from the Britons and West and East Saxons, and gradually Mercia became extensive and powerful.

Thus was formed what was usually called the *Hep-tarchy*, or *seven* states, founded by the German conquerors of Britain. This term has been objected to

as not strictly correct, for there were at first *eight* instead of *seven* independent kingdoms; but Deira and Bernicia were so early united under one sceptre, that it seems to us a needless effort after exactness to change, as has been done, Heptarchy into Octarchy.

The Britons, or Welsh,* as they were named by the conquerors, were thus driven back to the western side of the island. Their country, extending from Alclud or Dunbarton (i. e., Dun or fort of the Britons) on the Clyde to the south of Lancashire, and separated from Northumbria by a range of mountains, was named Strathclyde and Cumbria. They also held, and their descendants now retain, the country named Wales; and, in the south, Damnonia (Devonshire) and Cernaw (Cornwall), under the name of West Wales, were long independent of the Saxons. Of the Britons of the conquered country, part fell in defence of their liberty and property; part sought refuge with their independent kindred; and the remainder submitted, and were incorporated among the conquerors in various relations of freedom or servitude. It is remarkable, that in these parts their language went entirely out of use.† British terms form no portion of the modern English; few towns or lands retain Celtic names; and the chief vestiges of the Celtic, which once prevailed over the whole island, are the appellations of some mountains and streams.

We have thus succinctly related the conquest of Britain as it has been transmitted to us by the oldest authorities. We must not, however, conceal the fact, that but one, the British Gildas, can be regarded as a contemporary, and that from him we obtain scarcely any details; while the Venerable Bede, our principal authority, was not born till two centuries after the conquest; and as Christianity, and, with it, letters,

* The Anglo-Saxon word *Wealh* (i. e., *Gael*) and its kindred terms in the other Teutonic dialects signify a *Gaul*, *stranger*, or *foreigner*. Thus the Germans, at the present day, call Italy *Wälschland*, and the Italians *Wälscher*. The *Valais* in Switzerland, the *Walloons*, etc., are all words of the same origin.

† See Appendix (C).

were not introduced among the Saxons much more than half a century before his time, we are left to suppose that the genealogies of chiefs and the songs of bards were the materials for the history of the conquest and of the succeeding century and a half. How little real history these usually transmit is well known. In the present case, for instance, the numbers of the invaders are ludicrously small, and the names of the first leaders have such a mythic or fabulous air, as to lead some inquirers even to doubt their actual existence.* Nor are the tales of the British bards more credible than those of the Saxons; and the fame and the existence of their renowned Arthur are, at least, as problematic as those of Hengist and Horsa.

To proceed: all Britain was thus divided among the Anglo-Saxons, as we call the conquerors; the Britons, or Welsh; and the Picts and Scots, north of the Roman wall. Ceaseless warfare, it will readily be supposed, prevailed among all these independent states; and the Anglo-Saxons, little heeding their community of origin, turned their arms as freely against each other as against the Welsh or the Picts. Milton has said that these conflicts are as undeserving of notice as "the wars of kites or crows, flocking and fighting in the air;" and this remark certainly holds good with respect to the general reader, though it may not apply with equal force to the philosopher or the antiquary. We will therefore content ourselves with selecting some of the most prominent events in each of the kingdoms during the space of about two centuries.

We shall begin with Kent, as it was in this kingdom that Christianity was first introduced among the heathen Saxons.† The following was the occasion.

* Hengist and Horsa both signify *horse*; the white horse is the arms of Kent and Hanover; and the ancient Germans, according to Tacitus, kept sacred white horses, from whose neighing they took omens. (See Palgrave's *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, pt. i., p. 395.) We do not, however, think that their names present any difficulty. Wolf (*Ulf*) and Bear (*Beorn*) were names of real persons: why, then, object to Horse?

† National hatred on one side, and contempt on the other, had

Gregory (who was afterward pope, and surnamed the Great) happening, when a young man, to pass through the slave-market at Rome, his attention was caught by some boys with fair, long hair and blooming complexions, who were exposed for sale. He asked the slave-dealer of what country they were, and was told that they were Angles. "With reason," he said, "are they so called, for they are fair as *angels*: and would that they might be cherubim in heaven! But from what province of Britain are they?" "From Deira." "Deira!" said he; "that is good; they must be delivered from the wrath (*de ira*) of God. But what is the name of their king?" "Ella." "Ella! Allelujah, then, should be sung in his dominions." Gregory forthwith resolved to go on a mission to Britain, and obtained the pontiff's consent; but the people of Rome would not suffer him to expose his life to such peril. At length he ascended the papal throne himself, and he then resolved to make no delay in proposing the truths of the Gospel to the pagan Saxons. He selected a monk named Augustine, whom, with forty companions, he sent to Britain in 596.*

The conjuncture was favourable. Ethelbert, king of Kent, was married to a Christian princess, Berta, sister of Caribert, king of Paris; when, therefore, the missionaries landed in the Isle of Thanet, and sent to solicit an interview with the king, it was readily granted; but Ethelbert, fearful of magic, would only receive them in the open air. They advanced, bearing aloft a silver cross, and a banner displaying the image of Christ, and chanting litanies; then addressing the king, they explained to him the tenets of their faith. Ethelbert hesitated to embrace the new doctrine, but he gave them leave to preach it to his people, and assured them of his protection. Soon, however, the king and his court became converts; and his example so wrought on his subjects, that not less than ten thousand of them were baptized on one Christmas. He gave

probably prevented, or rendered unavailing, any attempts on the part of the British Christians to convert the Saxons.

* Bede, i., 25.

up his own palace to the missionaries, and the church which they built adjoining it occupied the site of the present cathedral of Canterbury. Sebert, king of Essex, the nephew of Ethelbert, readily embraced the Christian religion in 604; and on the site of an ancient temple of Apollo, in a wild, desert island formed by the branches of a small river that fell into the Thames west of London, and which was named Thorney (Thorn Isle), from its appearance, he built a church dedicated to St. Peter: the present Westminster Abbey. He also built in London, on the site of a temple of Diana, a cathedral dedicated to St. Paul.

On the death of Ethelbert, in 616, however, the new faith seemed likely to decline: his son and successor Eadbald, enamoured of the widowed queen, made her his wife, and returned to the religion of his fathers. The sons of Sebert also renounced the new faith. Mellitus, bishop of London, and Justus, bishop of Rochester, returned to Gaul; and Laurentius, the successor of Augustine, was preparing to follow their example. Ere he departed, he resolved to make one more effort to reclaim Eadbald. The night before he was to set out for the Continent, he caused his bed to be made in the church. In the morning he came to take leave of the king; and, stripping his back and shoulders, showed them bloody with the marks of recent stripes. Eadbald asked who had dared thus to treat a person in his situation. He was told they were the chastisement inflicted on him, in the dead of the night, by the prince of the apostles, for his having thought of abandoning his flock. The king was terrified; he put away his queen, suppressed idolatry, and became a most zealous Christian.*

* As this is one of the first Romish miracles in English history, we must make a few remarks on this subject. Of the fact above related we see no reason to doubt, though most surely St. Peter was not the flagellator. These "pious frauds," as they have been strangely called, were frequently practised; and, as was apparently the case in the present instance, were often well intended; but still they were frauds, and therefore to be condemned. The preceding narrative is given at full length by Venerable Bede. Dr. Lingard thus softens it: "On the morning of

Edwin, king of Northumbria, was married to Ethelburga, daughter of Ethelbert; and, at the request of her brother Eadbald, he allowed, in 625, a missionary named Paulinus to preach in his dominions. Edwin's had been a life of vicissitude: he was the son of Ella and heir to the crown of Deira, but Ethelfrith, king of Bernicia, who had married his sister, expelled him when an infant from his inheritance. When Edwin grew up, he sought refuge with Redwald, king of East Anglia, where, from his manners and conduct, he gained universal favour. Ethelfrith sent repeatedly, offering large rewards to Redwald if he would kill him or give him up. The Anglian prince at first steadfastly refused; but at length he began to waver. Edwin was informed of his danger, but he refused to fly; the queen then strongly interested herself in his favour, and Redwald resolved to remain in the path of honour. Knowing that a war must ensue, he resolved to anticipate Ethelfrith, and invaded his dominions. Ethelfrith fell in battle against him, in 626, and Edwin became king of Northumbria, where he so distinguished himself by the strict administration of justice, that it was said that, during his reign, a woman or child might openly carry a purse of gold without danger. The King of Wessex, unable to face Edwin in the field, resolved to have him murdered. The assassin, named Eomer, came as an ambassador; and when the king stretched forth his hand to welcome him, he suddenly drew his sword and attempted to stab him: but Lilla, one of the king's officers, seeing the act, threw himself before the sword, which passed through his body and wounded the king. The fright of the queen brought on a sudden illness; the safety of herself and her babe was ascribed to the prayers of Paulinus, and, with Edwin's permission, the infant was baptized. A victory which he gained over the treacherous King of Wessex also contributed to dispose him to embrace the new faith; and, after diverse conferences with

his intended departure, he made a last attempt on the mind of Eadbald; his *representations* were successful." Surely this is not fair-dealing in an historian.

Paulinus, he called the great council of his realm to take the matter into consideration, in 626.

The first who spoke was Coifi, the chief priest. He declared himself satisfied of the nothingness of the gods whom he had hitherto served : " For if," said he, " they had power to bestow blessings, I, who have always served them, should have been most highly favoured, whereas the contrary is the case." One of the nobles then spoke ; likening the soul to a sparrow, which, in the mid winter, when the king is enjoying himself with his lords by the fire, flies into the warm hall where they are sitting, and, having flitted for some time around it, again goes out into the storm by another door. " Thus," added he, " we know nothing of the origin or end of the soul, and if the new doctrine can give us any certainty, we should embrace it." All assented. Coifi then proposed that the temple of Godmundingham, at which he officiated, should be destroyed, and offered to commence the profanation. It was a law among the Saxons, that the priests should never carry arms, and should only ride on mares : but Coifi now, to prove his change of faith, mounted a war-steed, girded himself with a sword, and, grasping a lance, galloped on to the temple. The people thought him mad ; and their amazement increased when they saw him hurl his lance against the fane. No opposition, however, was made to the demolition ; and the number of converts became so great, that for thirty-six days Paulinus was engaged from morning to night in baptizing them. The Christian faith was gradually adopted in the other states ; and in zeal and piety the Anglo-Saxons might vie with any people of the time.*

Of the political events of this period, the following are the most deserving of note. In the year 626, Penda mounted the throne of Mercia, at the age of fifty, and he reigned for thirty years. He was a man of a violent, tyrannical character, ever at war with his neighbours. Edwin, king of Northumbria, and his successor Oswald, fell in battle against him. Penda

* All the preceding details are furnished by Bede ii., 12, 13.

himself was slain at last in the battle of Winwid-feld, near Leeds, fought against Oswio of Northumbria in 655. His successor, Peada, was a Christian, and the Mercians embraced the faith of their king. The greatest of the Mercian monarchs was Offa, who warred with success against the British princes, and drove them out of the plain country. To secure his conquests, he ran an intrenchment, still named Offa's Dike, from the mouth of the Dee to that of the Wye. Offa also conquered Kent and Essex; Wessex and Northumbria submitted to him, and by treachery and murder he gained East Anglia. For Ethelbert, king of that country, wishing to espouse one of his daughters, went in person to his court at Tamworth, in 792, in reliance on Offa's honour, though they had long been at enmity. But Offa's queen said to him, "Now you have your old enemy in your power, whose kingdom you have so long coveted;" and Offa caused him to be assassinated. The princess, however, had time to give the Anglian nobles warning, and they made their escape; but Offa entered and conquered the kingdom. The power and fame of Offa were so great, that the Emperor Charlemagne entered into friendship and alliance with him. Offa reigned forty years; and after his death, in 794, Mercia rapidly declined.

The supreme power in Britain was reserved for the royal line of Wessex. It had already produced, in Ina, the ablest legislator who had as yet appeared among the Anglo-Saxons. At this time, Egbert, a youth of the race of Cerdic, being deemed by the people to have a better right to the throne than Beortric, who occupied it in 784, was an object of suspicion to that monarch, and, to save his life, he took refuge with Offa, king of Mercia. Beortric sought and obtained the hand of Offa's daughter, Edburga, in 787; but his request for the surrender of Egbert was refused. This young prince, however, not deeming himself secure, retired to the court of Charlemagne. Edburga, who was a woman of the most vicious character, frequently made her husband put his nobles to death. At times she was herself the agent; and one day, when she had

mixed a cup of poison for one of the nobles, the king, by mistake, partook of it and died. The people rose, and drove Edburga from the country, and abolished the title of queen.* She went to France, thence to Italy, and King Offa's daughter finally died a common beggar at Pavia.

Egbert returned from France in 800, and occupied the vacant throne. He concluded a peace with Mercia; and, having devoted some years to the improvement of his paternal realm, at length, in 809, he turned his arms against the Britons of Cornwall, whom, in the space of fourteen years, he reduced to submission. The power of Egbert now excited the jealousy of the Mercian king, and a war broke out: but the Mercians sustained a great defeat in 823 at Ellandune (now Wilton); and Egbert, sending his son with an army into Kent, drove out of it the prince who governed it under the Mercians, and the people joyfully submitted to his rule. The East Anglians revolted, and put themselves under the protection of Egbert. The King of Mercia led an army against them, but he fell in battle. The fate of his successor was the same; and Egbert finally, in 827, invaded and conquered Mercia. He then turned his arms against the Northumbrians, who submitted at his approach. He finally conquered the Britons of Wales; and the whole island south of the friths acknowledged the authority of the King of Wessex.

We will conclude this portion of the early history by a few observations.

The resemblance is very striking between the heroic age of Greece and the early Anglo-Saxon period of Britain. In both, the form of government was regal, and confined to particular families, who derived their lineage from the deities worshipped by the people: for if the Grecian *Basileus* traced his pedigree up to Zeus, the Saxon king drew his down from Wodin, or Odin, the fabulous monarch of the northern heaven. The same qualities of mind and body were required

* Hence, instead of *queen*, we shall find the term *lady* employed.

in the sovereigns of both people. The king was the source of law and the administrator of justice in Britain as in Greece; and if in one country he was aided by a *Bulé*, or Senate, composed of the nobles or chieftains of his realm, the same appearance is presented by the other in its *Witena-gemot* (*Meeting of the Witan*, i. e., Wisemen), or great council.*

The leaders of the Anglo-Saxons were at first called Ealdormen (*Aldermen*), or elders.† When they took the title of King,‡ that of Ealdormen was retained for the inferior chieftains, or the governors of districts and towns. Some of the Anglo-Saxon kings assumed a still higher title, that of Bretwalda, or Ruler of the Britons; and those who held it are supposed to have enjoyed some kind of supremacy over the different states of the island.§

CHAPTER III.

KINGS OF WESSEX SOVEREIGNS OF ENGLAND.¶

The Danes. — ETHELWULF. — ETHELBALD. — ETHELBERT. — ETHERED. — ALFRED THE GREAT. — EDWARD I. (the Elder).

EGBERT. 800-836.

AT the time when Egbert mounted the throne of Wessex, the Anglo-Saxons had been for three centuries and a half the occupants of Britain. During all

* See History of Greece, part i., ch. ii.

† As the Grecian chiefs were called *γέροντες*, *old men*. Hom., II., ii., 53.

‡ King is cognate to the Persian *Khân*, and perhaps to the Celtic *Caen* (head).

§ The Bretwaldas were Ella of Sussex, Ceawlin of Wessex, Ethelbert of Kent, Redwald of East Anglia, Edwin, Oswald, and Oswio of Northumbria, and Egbert of Wessex.

¶ Authorities: Saxon Chronicle, Ethelward, Malmesbury, Huntingdon, &c.

VOL. I.—D

this time, they had been divided into separate and independent states; and, as we have seen, warfare against each other, or the original natives, prevailed almost without intermission. A new and most formidable foe, of their own race and kindred, was now about to appear; and a closer union among their states was required. It would almost seem that Egbert had foreseen this necessity; for we are told that, on his accession, he gave the name of England (Angle-land) to his realm; and, as only the West Saxons were his subjects, we may infer that he even then aspired to the monarchy of the whole island. It was probably at the court of Charlemagne, and in imitation of that great monarch, that he formed this plan of extensive dominion.

The foes with whom the English were now to contend were the Northmen, or people of Denmark and Norway, named by them the Danes. Like all nations in a low state of culture, the Danes had probably lived for centuries with little knowledge of any country but their own; and, though they may have possessed the art of shipbuilding from time immemorial, and navigated their own stormy seas without fear, we have no accounts of their pillaging the coasts of the more southern countries till about the period at which we are now arrived. Some internal changes, of which we are uninformed, may have taken place at this time in Scandinavia: excess of population may have caused want; a spirit of adventure may have sprung up from some unknown cause; at all events, we shall henceforth find the fleets of the Vikingar, or northern pirates, annually devastating the coasts of France and England. They were still heathens, and the martial character of their religion tended to augment their ferocity.

Their first appearance in the latter country is said to have been in 787, in which year they landed from three ships on the coast of Dorset; and, when the reeve of the next town attempted to make them prisoners, they slew him, and escaped to their vessels. In 793 and 794 they made descents on Northumbria,

and plundered the monasteries at Lindesfarne and Wearmouth. Probably from having become better acquainted with the political state of the island, they now directed their efforts against the south coast, and formed alliances with the Britons of Devon. In 833 they landed from thirty-five ships at Carrun, or Charmouth, in Dorset, where King Egbert gave them battle. The slaughter was great on both sides, but the invaders kept the field. Two years after, in 835, a large body landed; and, being joined by the men of Devon, invaded Wessex: but Egbert met and defeated them at Hengistdune. The year after his victory King Egbert died, leaving two sons, Ethelwulf and Athelstan; of whom the former succeeded to the crown of Wessex, while the latter obtained Sussex, Kent, and Essex.

ETHELWULF. 836-858.

The landings of the Danes on the east and south coast were now periodical, but they were in general stoutly resisted. Still the spoil they were enabled to carry off encouraged them, and every year their number increased. In the spring of 851, they sailed up the Thames, took and pillaged London and Canterbury, and, having defeated the King of Mercia, advanced into Surrey: but at Ac-lea, or Ockley, they were encountered by King Ethelwulf and the West Saxons, and routed with prodigious slaughter.

While his kingdom was thus endangered, King Ethelwulf, urged by superstition, undertook, in 855, a pilgrimage to Rome, where he remained for twelve months. On his way home he married Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald, king of France. He had been previously married to Osberga, daughter of a nobleman named Oslac, who had borne him five sons: Athelstan (then dead), Ethelbald, Ethelbert, Ethered, and Alfred. The last was his favourite; and the year before, though he was but five years of age, he had sent him to Rome, where Pope Leo IV. consecrated him as king, and made him his godson. During the absence of Ethelwulf, Ethelbald, his eldest son, attempted to occupy the throne; and, on the return of

the king, a civil war was on the point of breaking out: but it was happily prevented by the moderation of Ethelwulf, who, contenting himself with the kingdom which had been held by his brother Athelstan, gave up Wessex to his son in 856. Ethelwulf died soon after, in 858, and was succeeded in Sussex, Kent, and Essex, by his second son, Ethelbert.

ETHELBALD. 858-860.

Ethelbald gave great scandal to his people by marrying his stepmother Judith; but he divorced her on the remonstrances of Swithun,* bishop of Winchester. He died after a short reign, and was succeeded by his brother Ethelbert.

ETHELBERT. 860-866.

The Danes now resumed their ravages. They stormed and burned Winchester in 860: but, as they were returning to their ships laden with booty, they were fallen on and routed by the men of Berks and Hants. In 865 they settled themselves, as the Jutes had formerly done, in the isle of Thanet. Their neighbours of Kent gave them a large sum of money to purchase peace; but the faithless Danes took the money, and then ravaged the country.

ETHERED. 866-871.

The reign of Ethelbert also was short. On his death in 866, his next brother, Ethered, mounted the throne; and, in the very year of his accession, a large army of Danes, led by three brothers named Halfdan, Hingvar, and Hubba, the sons of the famous northern hero Ragnar Lodbrok, landed in East Anglia,† the people of which made peace with them, and supplied them with horses. The pirates, thus mounted, crossed the Humber and poured into Northumbria, where

* This is the bishop whose day in the calendar is supposed to have so much influence on the succeeding weather.

† Their father had been taken the year before, and put to death by the Northumbrian chief Ella; and they now came to avenge him.

the people were at discord among themselves, having deposed their rightful king, Osbert, and given the throne to Ella, a man not of the royal line. The two rivals, however, joined their forces against the invaders, and attacked them at York, which city they had taken : but the Northumbrians were defeated, Osbert was slain, and Ella taken and put to death with torture. The Danes then entered Mercia, in 868, and took the town of Nottingham. At the request of the King of Mercia, Ethered led an army to oppose them : but they seem to have kept possession of the town.

They next, in 870, spread into Lindsey, in Lincolnshire, where they were bravely resisted : but their numbers and their ferocity finally prevailed. They plundered and burned the monasteries of Medhamstede or Peterborough, Croyland, Ely, Thorney, and Ramsey, and then invaded East Anglia. Edmund, the king of that country, a prince celebrated for his virtue and piety, offered a gallant resistance ; but he was defeated, and, being hotly pursued, was discovered, and dragged from his place of concealment. The Danes bound him to a tree ; and, on his steadfast refusal to renounce his faith, they beat and abused him, shot their arrows at him, and at length, by the order of Hingvar, struck off his head.* The next year, 871, the Danish host advanced to Reading in Wessex. The king and his brother Alfred led an army to oppose them, but were defeated. Four days after they engaged them again, with success, at Escisdune (probably Aston) ; and, in about a fortnight after, the two armies again encountered at Basing, where victory was with the Danes, who were also successful in a battle fought two months later at Morton, in Berks. The king died the following Easter of a wound he had received, leaving his throne to his brother Alfred, a young man twenty-two years of age, who had greatly distinguished himself in the wars of this time.†

* The place of his interment was named Bury St. Edmund's, for he was canonized as a martyr.

† We possess a contemporary Life of this prince by Asser bishop of Sherborne.

ALFRED THE GREAT. 871-901.

Alfred first engaged the Danes at Wilton; and no less than nine battles, besides numerous skirmishes, took place in the course of this year. A treaty was at length concluded, and the heathens evacuated Reading and moved to London. Burhed, king of Mercia, to whom London belonged, then made a treaty with them, and they removed to Lindesey: but, finding little to plunder in this wasted country, they poured, regardless of the treaty, into Mercia, and took a station at Repton in 873, whence they spread their ravages over the country. King Burhed, despairing of being able to resist them, left his kingdom and retired to Rome in 874; and the Danes made one of his thanes king, on condition of being their vassal, and resigning when they required.

The next year, 875, they divided their forces. One division, under Halfdan, invaded and conquered Northumbria; the other fixed itself at Cambridge, whence it moved the following year, 876, and came unexpectedly to Wareham in Dorset: but Alfred forced them to a treaty, and they swore in their most solemn mode (that is, on their holy ring or bracelet) to depart, giving some of their chief nobles as hostages. Yet, heedless of all this, they made a rapid movement in 877, and gained possession of Exeter: but Alfred besieged them, and forced them to a new treaty, which was better kept. They retired to Gloucester, where they divided a part of the land among themselves. In the midst of the following winter (January 6th, 878), however, they secretly collected their forces, entered Wessex, and seized the town of Chippenham, whence they ravaged the kingdom far and wide. Some of the inhabitants fled over the sea, and the rest submitted. The spirit of the king alone remained unbroken: but he could not collect troops, and he was forced to lay aside all marks of royalty, and to conceal himself under mean disguises.

It is related that he took refuge for some time in the cottage of one of his cowherds, to whom his per-

son was unknown. As he was one day sitting by the fire adjusting his bow, arrows, and other arms, the cowherd's wife set some cakes on the hearth to bake, naturally expecting that he would have an eye to them. She then went about her other household affairs; but, happening to turn about, she saw that the cakes were all burned. She rated the king well; telling him he was ready enough to eat cakes, and so might have minded them. Alfred bore her reproaches with patience, and his quality remained undiscovered.

Gradually Alfred was enabled to collect a small body of faithful followers, with whom he retired to a bog or morass formed by the waters of the Thone and Parret in Somerset.* Here, on about two acres of firm land, they raised a habitation, and led the life of outlaws; supporting themselves by plundering excursions against the enemy, and those who had submitted to them; and also by hunting the deer of the forest, and taking the fish of the streams. His abode here, however, was not long; the men of Devon had defeated and slain the Danish chief Hubba when he landed on their coast, and captured the Raven, the magic standard in which the heathens placed such confidence.†

Alfred soon felt himself sufficiently strong to venture on engaging the Danish army; but he resolved previously to ascertain its condition and situation. For this purpose, it is said, he disguised himself as a gleeman or minstrel, and entered their camp. The rude warriors received and entertained him joyfully for his music and songs; he was brought to make melody before Guthrum, their leader, and allowed to go where he pleased through all the camp. After a stay of some days, he retired, having obtained the knowledge he wanted.‡ He then summoned the men

* It was thence named *Æthelinga-ige*, or Isle of Nobles; now *Athelney*.

† It was woven, says Asser, in one afternoon, by the three laughters of Ragnar Lodbrok: if victory awaited the army, it would appear like a live raven flying; if defeat impended, it would hang down and droop.

‡ We question the truth of this story. It is not told by Asser,

of Somerset, Wilts, and Hants to meet him at Brixton, on the verge of the forest of Selwood ; and they came in great force, and rejoiced to behold their king again in arms. He led them thence to Ethandune (probably Eddiston), and took a position in front of the enemy. A fierce and bloody engagement terminated in favour of the English ; and the Danes fled to their intrenched camp, where Alfred blockaded them for a space of fourteen days. A treaty was then agreed to ; the Danes gave hostages, and engaged to evacuate Wessex ; and Guthrum pledged himself to receive baptism, which rite was performed about three weeks after, the king being his sponsor. As was usually the case in these times, most of the Danes followed the example of their chief. It was farther agreed that Guthrum should settle with his people in East Anglia and a part of Mercia, acknowledging Alfred as his superior lord. Guthrum remained faithful to Alfred as long as he lived ; and his subjects laid aside their predatory habits, and devoted themselves to agriculture. A Danish prince named Guthred, by means of the Bishop of Lindesfarne, was made King of Northumbria, and he also acknowledged the supremacy of Alfred. Ethelred, who was married to the king's daughter Ethelfleda, governed Mercia as alderman ; and Wessex and its dependencies were under his own more immediate rule.

During fifteen years the kingdom had tolerable repose ; and in these years Alfred employed himself in providing the means of defence. He rebuilt or fortified London, and other towns which had been ruined by the Danes ; he established a militia, assigning a rotation of military duty to all his subjects ; and greatly increased and improved his navy, which he stationed in different divisions round the island.

The efforts of the Northmen were at this time chiefly directed against the Netherlands : but in the who could hardly have omitted it ; and we first meet with it in Ingulf and Malmesbury. It answered no purpose, as no attack was made on the camp ; and seems merely a repetition of that of Anlaf, soon to be noticed.

year 893, a fleet of two hundred and fifty ships entered the Rother, in Kent; and, ascending it for four miles, landed a numerous body, which formed a strong camp at Apuldre, in which they remained for a twelve-month.* At the same time a famous pirate, named Hastings,† sailed up the Thames with eighty ships, and erected a fortress at Middel-tun, now Milton. The king came with his forces, and took a station between the two armies. The army at Apuldre then set out secretly, and plundered part of Wessex: but Alfred came up with and defeated them at Farnham, and took all their booty. They fled over the Thames, and intrenched themselves on the Colne, where they were besieged by the king. But in the mean time the Danes of Northumbria and East Anglia, who had joined their countrymen, put to sea with one hundred and forty ships, and invaded the coast of Devon; and, while Alfred returned to its defence, the foreign Danes raised a fortress at Benfleet, on the other side of the Thames. The king's troops, however, stormed and took this camp; and among the captives were the wife and two sons of Hastings, to whom Alfred generously gave their liberty. The Danes then pushed boldly across the island, and came to the Severn, where they formed a strong camp. A large army of English and Welsh besieged it: but when the Danes had eaten all their horses, and many of them had died of hunger, they burst out, and with great loss forced a passage and returned to Essex. Here, being reinforced, and having secured their wives, ships, and property in East Anglia, they set out again, and marched day and night till they came to Chester, which was lying deserted. The king's troops, which had been unable to overtake them, besieged them for a few days, and then retired.

They stayed there for the winter; and then, in 895,

* The whole of this district is now occupied by Romney marsh.

† It is a mistake to say that Hastings derived its name from this chief; the Hestingi of the coast of Sussex are mentioned in 771. See Lingard, i., p. 119, 4th edit.

set forth again, and came to the isle of Mersey, on the coast of Essex, whence they sailed in 896, and, in ascending the Thames, towed their vessels twenty miles up the Lea, and formed a strong camp. The king, in the harvest, came and encamped near London, in order that the citizens might get in their corn in safety. One day, as he was riding along the Lea, he observed a spot which might be secured, so that the Danes could not bring down their ships. He forthwith set about raising forts on each side at that place; but the Danes, aware of his object, broke up suddenly, and, marching to the Severn, again raised a fortress there, in which they passed the winter; and the next summer, 897, they went thence to Northumbria and East Anglia, and, having obtained ships, sailed away to France. They still, however, harassed the south coast of England: but Alfred, who had built ships of war on an improved plan of his own, destroyed several of their vessels. As a piece of wholesome severity, he hanged the crews of two of them, which had been driven ashore on the coast of Sussex.

As we are now approaching the close of this great monarch's reign, we will pause, and take a brief survey of his efforts to improve his people in the intervals of war.

It will not surprise any one who is acquainted with the general ignorance and barbarism of those times, to hear that Alfred, though the favourite son of a king, had attained the age of twelve years before he learned to read. When he was at that age, his mother one day showed him and his brothers a volume of Anglo-Saxon poetry, and said that the book should be his who first could read it. Alfred, who had always loved to listen to the lays of the minstrels, and whose curiosity was excited by the fine illuminated or coloured letter with which the book commenced, asked eagerly if she would really give it. She assured him that she would; when he took the book, sought out a teacher, and soon made good his claim to it. The next book that he read was a collection of Psalms: this he always carried about with him, and it was his chief

source of consolation in his retreat in Athelney. When his kingdom was settled he began to study Latin ; and he translated from it the works of Orosius, Boethius, the Venerable Bede, and others. His great object was to diffuse some knowledge among his people : he therefore refused to promote the uneducated to office, and invited eminent scholars from all parts, and gave to them honours and dignities. His labours were not without fruit. " When I took the kingdom," says he, " very few on this side of the Humber, very few beyond, and not one that I recollect south of the Thames, could understand their prayers in English, or translate a letter from Latin into English : " yet he lived to thank God that those who sat in the chair of the instructor were then capable of teaching. By a regular distribution of his time into three equal parts, for repose, business, and study, this great prince, though labouring under a severe internal malady, was enabled to produce more literary works than any other man of his time.*

Alfred died in 901, in the fifty-third year of his age, and the thirtieth of his reign. His character has, down to the present day, been the theme of universal applause, as the nearest approach to perfection in a man possessed of power that our nature has yet exhibited. His civil and military talents were alike great ; his religion was simple, sincere, and unostentatious ; his love of truth and justice were remarkable ; his passion for the acquisition and diffusion of useful and valuable knowledge was strong ; and he especially encouraged trade and mercantile adventure. The fame of his wisdom, justice, and love of country was so prevalent among succeeding generations, as to cause the most valuable institutions to be ascribed to him, though without reason or proof. But, though we must thus derogate from his fame as a legislator, the character of Alfred, as the good and great monarch, remains one with which that of the

* See Appendix (D)

Emperor Marcus Aurelius can alone be placed in competition.*

EDWARD I. (THE ELDER). 901-925.

Edward, surnamed the Elder, to distinguish him from his successors of the same name, was chosen by the Witan to succeed his father Alfred. But Ethelwald, the son of the late King Ethelbald, resolved to assert his claim to the throne; and, assembling his partisans, he took possession of the town of Wimburn, in Dorset. The king marched against him; and Ethelwald, though he vaunted that he would conquer there or die, stole away secretly, and escaped to Northumbria, where the Danes acknowledged him as the king. He then went beyond sea to collect troops; and, in 904, he landed in East Anglia, where the people at once submitted to him. In breach of peace they joined him, in 905, in an invasion of Mercia, and penetrated to Wiltshire. King Edward assembled an army and pursued them; ravaging their country from one end to the other, and then retired, charging all his men to follow: but the Kentish men took no heed, and stayed till the Danes came and surrounded them. The battle was fierce; most of the leaders on both sides fell, and among the rest the pretender Ethelwald: so that the disobedience and loss of the Kentish men were ultimately of advantage to King Edward; who, in the following year, concluded a peace with the Danes of Northumbria and East Anglia. The turbulent Danes, however, could not remain at rest; and they began again, in 911, to ravage Mercia. The king assembled a large fleet to attack their coast; and the Danes, thinking all his troops were on board these ships, advanced boldly into Mercia, wasting and plundering: but the royal army came up with them as they were retiring, and routed them with great slaughter.

During the remainder of his reign, King Edward

* The author might have named another character still more perfect than either—that of the great and good Washington.—*Am. Ed.*

gradually extended his power and supremacy over the whole island. The people of Northumbria and East Anglia submitted to him; and the Princes of Cornwall, Wales, Cumbria, and Strath-clyde, and the King of the Scots, became his liegemen. In all his projects he was assisted by the Lady of Mercia, as his sister Ethelfleda was named, who governed Mercia after the death of her husband in 912. This able princess headed her own troops, and gained victories over both Danes and Britons. She and the king turned their thoughts to the possession of strongly-fortified towns, as the best means of securing the realm. The lady fortified Bridgenorth, Tamworth, Stafford, Warwick, Leicester, Derby, &c.; and the king raised works round Hertford, Witham, Buckingham, Bedford, Malden, Towcester, Colchester, Stamford, Manchester, Nottingham, and other towns. On the death of the lady, in 920, Edward took the government of Mercia into his own hands. After a prosperous reign of twenty-four years, King Edward died in peace, in 925.

CHAPTER IV.

ANGLO-SAXON SOVEREIGNS OF ALL BRITAIN.*

ATHELSTAN.—Battle of Brunnanburgh.—**EDMUND.**—**EDRED.**—**EDWY** (the Fair).—Saint Dunstan.—**ELGIVA.**—**EDGAR** (the Pacific).—**ELFRIDA.**—**EDWARD II.** (the Martyr).—Dunstan's Miracles.—**ETHELRED** (the Unready).—Massacre of the Danes, their Conquests.—**EDMUND II.** (Ironside).

ATHELSTAN. 925-941.

By the will of his father and the choice of the Witan, Athelstan, the late king's eldest son, mounted the throne. He was crowned at Kingston; but a part of the West Saxons, alleging that he was illegitimate, re-

Authorities: Saxon Chronicle, Malmesbury, &c., as before.

VOL. I.—E

fused to recognise him ; and a conspiracy to seize and blind him was formed by a nobleman named Alfred. The plot was discovered ; but, as Alfred denied his guilt, he was allowed, according to Anglo-Saxon usage, to clear himself by oath before a bishop. It was agreed that he should go to Rome and swear in presence of the pope ; and he accordingly repaired thither, and before the Holy Father swore that he was innocent. Instantly, it is said, he fell senseless to the ground, and died within three days.

The first wars in which this able prince was engaged, were against the Britons of Cambria and Damnonia, who strove to regain their independence in 927. But their efforts were unavailing : the Cambrian princes had to come to Hereford and do homage, and agree to pay yearly twenty pounds' weight of gold and two hundred of silver, into the *hoard* or treasury of the "King of London;" they were to send him every year five thousand beeves, and their best hawks and hounds ; and the country between the Severn and the Wye was to become a part of Mercia. The Damnonians, whose territory had hitherto extended to the Exe, were now driven beyond the Tamar, and completely reduced beneath the sceptre of Athelstan.

The king, in the hope of maintaining peace, had given one of his sisters in marriage to Sihtric, the ruler of the Danes beyond the Humber : but Sihtric dying soon after, the northern chieftains urged his sons, Guthfrith or Godfrey, and Anlaf or Olave, to cast off allegiance to Athelstan ; "for in the old time," said they, "we were free, and served not the southern king." War was resolved on. Constantine, king of the Scots, took share in it : but the power of the English king was not to be withstood ; the Danish princes were forced to fly beyond the sea, and the Scottish king to do homage for his dominions, and give his son as a hostage.*

* The King of Scots had, as we have seen, done homage to Edward in 921. There are, we apprehend, few points in history more certain than the vassalage of the Scottish crown from that date till the end of the fourteenth century. See Palgrave's *Rise and Progress of the English Constitution*, vol. i., ch. 20.

Guthfrith and Anlaf embraced the life of pirates. The former died early ; but the latter, more fortunate, made himself master of Dublin, in Ireland, and became the chief of a powerful piratic force. The King of the Scots, ill brooking subjection, made a treaty with Anlaf ; the Britons also of Strath-clyde, Cumbria, and Cambria, readily joined in the league ; and when Anlaf, in 937, entered the Humber with a fleet of six hundred and twenty sail, the whole confederacy took arms. King Athelstan assembled an army without delay, and the hostile forces met at a place named Brunnanburgh. It is said that Anlaf, before the battle, disguised himself as a minstrel, and entered the English camp. The soldiers quickly flocked about him ; the news of the arrival of a strange minstrel was brought to the king, at whose order Anlaf was led to the royal tent, where he played and sang as the king and his nobles sat at a banquet ; and he was then dismissed with a suitable reward. He retired, having noted everything in the camp : but his pride would not let him retain the money which prudence had induced him to accept, and he buried it in the ground when he thought himself unobserved. A soldier, however, saw him, and, on a close inspection, recognised him, and then went and informed the king. Athelstan demanded why he had not given information when he might be seized. The soldier made answer, that he had once served and sworn fealty to Anlaf ; and, if he had betrayed him, the king might justly suspect him of equal treachery to himself. Athelstan praised him ; and then, suspecting Anlaf's design, removed his tent to another part of the camp, and the vacant ground was occupied by the Bishop of Sherborn, who arrived that evening with his retainers. In the dead of the night, Anlaf and his troops burst into the English camp, and making directly for the royal tent, as they thought, slaughtered the bishop and his companions. The tumult spread ; at sunrise a regular battle commenced, and, having lasted through the day, terminated in the utter discomfiture of the invaders. Five Danish kings and seven earls (or *Iarls*) were slain, the King of Scots lost

52 SAXON SOVEREIGNS OF ENGLAND. [941-946.]

his son, and warriors without number fell. "Never," says the poet who sung the battle, "since the Saxons and Angles, those artists of war, arrived, was such slaughter known in England."

After this great victory the realm of Athelstan was at ease and tranquil. The King of the English (or of all Britain, as he styled himself) was highly respected by the princes of the Continent; the kings of Norway and Armorica sent their sons to be reared at his court; the son of the German emperor, Charles the Simple king of France, the Duke of Aquitaine, and Hugh the Great count of Paris, espoused his four sisters; and, after the dethronement of Charles the Simple, his widow and her son Louis took refuge in England, whence the latter was named, when restored. D'outremer—from beyond sea.

EDMUND. 941-947.

Athelstan was succeeded, in 941, by his brother Edmund, then only eighteen years of age. The Northumbrians immediately recalled Anlaf from Ireland to be their king; and Wulstan, archbishop of York, warmly espoused his cause. Mercia was forthwith invaded, and Tamworth taken and plundered. A battle was fought at Leicester; after which, by the mediation of the prelates of York and Canterbury, a peace was concluded, by which Edmund was to rule south, Anlaf north of Watling-street,* and the survivor to possess the whole. Anlaf, however, died the next year, and Edmund, in 945, reduced all Northumbria. He next turned his arms against the Britons of Cumbria, defeated and expelled Donald, their prince, and blinded his sons, and then gave the country to Malcolm, king of Scots, in vassalage. Edmund the Magnificent, as he is named, did not long enjoy his power. The next year, 946, as he was sitting at a banquet with his nobles, on St. Augustine's festival, he saw at the table one Leof, who had been outlawed. Enraged at his audacity, the king sprang up, caught him by his long

* So the Roman military road from Dover to Chester (a part of which still remains) was named by the Saxons.

hair, and dragged him to the ground ; but in the struggle Leof drew a dagger, and gave the monarch a mortal wound.

EDRED. 947-955.

As Edmund's children were young, he was succeeded by his brother Edred, a prince of delicate frame but of vigorous mind ; and his sovereignty was acknowledged by all the kingdoms of the island. Hardly, however, had the Northumbrians taken their oaths, when they rose in rebellion, and made a Norwegian pirate, named Eric, their king. Edred speedily invaded and laid waste their country ; and, as he menaced to return and do still worse, they deposed and murdered their new ruler, and submitted to the king. As Wulstan was the chief cause of disturbance, Edred, after confining him some time at Jedburgh, made him Bishop of Dorchester, in Oxfordshire, where he could do no mischief. Northumbria was now made an *earldom*, and not a *kingdom*, and the earl was appointed by the king.

EDWY (THE FAIR). 955-959.

On the death of Edred, in 955, his nephew, Edwy, the son of the late king Edmund, was chosen king ; and Mercia became the apanage of Edwy's younger brother Edgar.

The most remarkable man of these times was Dunstan, whom the Church of Rome has canonized for his exertions in her cause. Dunstan was of noble birth, and even akin to the royal family ; his wealth was considerable, and he received his early education at the monastery of Glastonbury. Intense study brought on him while there a severe attack of fever ; and there is some reason to suppose that it may have caused a partial derangement of intellect ; for, through all his life, he was, according to his own account (and we should not be too forward to accuse him of falsehood), tormented by visions of evil spirits. His bodily frame was delicate, but his mind was most active ; he was master of all the learning and arts of the age ; he

wrought the various metals with great skill; he excelled chiefly in music, and with the tones of his harp he sought to sooth his perturbed spirit, and banish the thoughts that agitated him. By his uncle Athelm, archbishop of Canterbury, he was early introduced at the court of King Athelstan, where he won favour by his knowledge and accomplishments. But envy and jealousy soon showed themselves among the courtiers; and the proud spirit of Dunstan was roused, and he quitted the court. His enemies lay in ambush for him, seized and bound him, trampled him under foot, and flung him into a marsh, where he lay till he was found and relieved by some passers-by.

He soon after consulted his uncle on his future course of life. The prelate urged him to become a monk; but Dunstan, who loved a beautiful maiden, withstood all his arguments. Athelm then prayed that some evil might befall him to cause him to act right; and Dunstan, viewing a fever, brought on probably by mental uneasiness, as a judgment sent from heaven, took the monastic vows at Glastonbury. Not content with the ordinary austerities of the convent, he built himself a cell too short to allow him to lie at his length, and here he wrought at his forge when not engaged in prayer; his sleep was brief, and his food barely sufficed to sustain nature.

The fame of the sanctity, the talents, and the wisdom of Dunstan spread over the whole realm. King Edmund, on his accession, gave him the abbacy of Glastonbury, invited him to court and made him his chief minister, and his influence in this and the following reign was without limits.

The zeal of Dunstan was directed to two points: the enforcement of celibacy on the clergy, and the introduction of the monastic rule of St. Benedict into England. Hitherto the English clergy in general had followed the dictates of nature and the plain sense of Scripture, and entered, like other men, into the married state: but the Oriental reverence of asceticism and celibacy had gradually been gaining ground in the Western church; and the popes had possibly begun

to discern the advantages they might derive from cutting the clergy off from all social ties, and, heedless or ignorant of consequences, eagerly sought to enforce an institution which experience has shown to be the most detrimental to morality that has ever been devised. A Roman monk, named Benedict, had also drawn up a series of rules for the regulation of the Convent of Monte Cassino, over which he presided; and the superiority of these rules caused them to be adopted all over the Continent; so that the monks throughout Europe thus formed one corporation. These rules had been adopted at Glastonbury: but the English and British monasteries in general continued to govern themselves by their ancient institutes. Dunstan, a man of resolute character, and in whose heart all social feelings were now extinct, resolved to enforce the rules which he approved, and the celibacy which he had learned to regard as sanctifying. He had naturally to encounter much opposition; but, like most reformers of his character, he was little scrupulous as to means, regarding them as justified by the end; and he exerted all the influence and power he possessed to carry his favourite measures.

On the accession of Edwy, the influence of Dunstan in the state began to wane: for the king, a youth of but seventeen years of age, and addicted to pleasure, set himself against the new regulations in the church. Edwy had, in opposition to his counsellors and prelates, espoused a beautiful maiden of the royal blood, but related to him within the prohibited degrees.* On the day of his coronation, when his nobles were carousing after the Saxon fashion in the royal halls, the king secretly withdrew; and, leaving them to their revels, retired to enjoy the society of his wife and her mother. At the desire of the guests, Dunstan and one of the prelates went in search of him; and, entering the apartment, Dunstan abused Elgiva (so the

* We give this view of the case on the authority of the honest Saxon Chronicle. Its words are: "In this year (958) Archbishop Odo divorced King Edwy and Elgiva, because they were too sib" (i. e., near akin). There must, therefore, have been a marriage.

queen was named) and her mother in the most opprobrious manner, even menacing the latter with the gallows. He seized the king, dragged him away to the hall where the nobles were revelling, and forced him to resume his seat.

Edwy had too much spirit not to resent this insult, and Elgiva naturally urged him to vengeance. Under the pretext of Dunstan's having made away with public money in the late reign, he banished him the kingdom. Dunstan retired to Ghent, but he had left a strong party behind him. At the instance of Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, the people rose in rebellion in Mercia and the North, and made Prince Edgar their king; and in Wessex Odo forced the king to give up Elgiva, who, by the prelate's orders, was seized by a band of soldiers. Her face was scarred with a red-hot iron, and she was banished to Ireland. But when her wounds were healed she returned in search of her husband. She was, however, intercepted by a party of Odo's soldiers, by whom she was seized and hamstrung, and she died in great torture at Gloucester.* The unhappy Edwy did not long survive; and Edgar, now but thirteen years of age, became king of all England.

EDGAR (THE PEACEFUL). 959-975.

There is, perhaps, no just reason for supposing that Dunstan, or even Odo, had given orders for the atrocities which their partisans had committed; but the Abbot of Glastonbury certainly reaped the advantage of them. He returned in triumph when Edgar was acknowledged in Mercia and Northumbria, and became his chief adviser. He was made Bishop of London and Worcester, and Edgar forced the successor of Odo to resign, that Dunstan might have the primacy, with which he held the sees of London and Roches-

* Sir James Mackintosh says, "There is no proof that the archbishop, far less that Dunstan, who was in Flanders, gave any orders for these atrocities, which, however, were perpetrated by their adherents, and praised by their encomiasts." See his *History of England*, i., p. 55, Harpers' edition.

ter. The married clergy were persecuted without mercy, and not less than forty-eight Benedictine monasteries were founded in England. The king joined heartily in this persecution, and the monkish writers have in return made him almost a saint. Their only charge against him is his fondness for introducing Flemings, Germans, and Danes into the kingdom, who corrupted, as they say, the simple, virtuous habits of the people.

Yet Edgar's character was in some respects far from perfect. He broke into a convent and carried off a nun, at least a lady who had assumed the veil,* named Wulfreda. For this Dunstan enjoined him, by way of penance, to fast twice a week, and to lay aside his crown for a term of seven years. But on another occasion the monarch's guilt was morally, though not, perhaps, in Dunstan's eyes, of a deeper die. Having heard much of the beauty of Elfrida, daughter of Ordgar, earl of Devon, he directed one of his favourites, named Athelwold, to visit the earl under some pretence, and see if fame spake true of his daughter's charms. At the sight of Elfrida, Athelwold conceived the most violent affection for her, and resolved to sacrifice his duty to his love. He returned to the king, and told him that fame had exaggerated, as usual, and that Elfrida was but an ordinary maiden. Edgar then ceased to think of her. Some time after Athelwold said to him, that he had been thinking, that, homely as Elfrida was, her birth and fortune would make her an eligible match for himself, and he craved permission to seek her hand. The king gave a ready assent, and even strongly recommended him to her parents, and the fair Elfrida became the wife of Athelwold. But a courtier has many enemies; and the

* Malmesbury asserts that she was not professed (*sanctimonialis*). Dunstan's biographers expressly say that she was: yet Dr. Lingard cites them as witnesses for his statement, that she "was a young lady educated in the convent, who, to elude his pursuit, had covered herself with the veil of one of the sisters." His saying that Malmesbury adds "*certum est non tunc sanctimoniale fuisse*" (it is certain that she had not yet taken the vows), would seem to intimate that the others had said nothing on this subject.

truth soon reached the ears of the king. He dissembled his resentment, and only told Athelwold that he was resolved to pay him a visit, and be introduced to his new-married wife. Athelwold saw his danger; and, having obtained permission to precede him by a few hours, hastened to Elfrida, and revealing to her the whole truth, implored her to use every artifice to conceal her beauty. Elfrida, an aspiring, ambitious woman, though secretly incensed, promised compliance; and Athelwold's fears were somewhat allayed: but what was his horror when he saw her come before the king in the full blaze of her charms, and practise all her arts on the royal heart! Edgar still dissembled; but a few days after he slew Athelwold at a hunting party with his own hand, and then made Elfrida his queen,* A.D. 965.

Edgar, named by his historians the "Peaceful," was doubtless a prince of no mean capacity. His sway was supreme over the whole island, the sound of war was unheard during his reign, justice was duly administered, the realm prospered, and the kings of Scotland and Man, and all the princes of the Britons, were his liegemen. In the sixteenth year of his reign, 973, having celebrated his coronation at Bath,† he assembled a numerous fleet, and proceeded to Chester, whither his vassal princes were summoned to meet him and perform homage. The morning following the day of that ceremony, Edgar and his royal vassals entered a barge on the Dee. Each prince grasped an oar, the king himself took the helm, and they thus proceeded down the river to St. John's monastery, and, having there heard mass, returned in the same manner to the royal abode.

The reign of this prince is remarkable for the extirpation of wolves in England. Driven from the plain country, these animals harboured in the mountains of Wales, whence they descended to commit their rava-

* It is but fair to add, that the authority on which Malmesbury relates this tale is apparently a Saxon ballad.

† This was probably the resumption of his crown on the expiration of his penance.

ges. Edgar changed the annual tribute imposed by Athelstan on the Welsh princes to that of three hundred wolves' heads; and so active a chase was kept up against these animals, that the race was soon extinct.

EDWARD II. (THE MARTYR). 975-978.

On the death of Edgar in 975, there was a contest between two parties in the state: the one supporting the claim to the throne of Edward, son of the late king by his first wife Elfleda, the other seeking to place the crown on the head of Ethelred, the son of Elfrida. Edward's cause, which was founded in justice and supported by Dunstan, succeeded, and he was crowned; but his reign was brief. As he was hunting one day in Dorsetshire, in 978, and came near Corfe Castle, where Elfrida and her son resided, he went unattended to pay them a visit. Elfrida received him with great apparent kindness: but while he was drinking a cup of mead on horseback, one of her servants, as he had been directed, stabbed him in the back. The king gave spurs to his horse, but soon fell exhausted through loss of blood, and was dragged along by his horse till he expired. The appellation of "Martyr" was bestowed on this innocent and ill-fated prince, and miracles were believed to be wrought at his tomb.

It was during the reign of this prince that two events occurred, which have led many modern writers to entertain serious doubts of the sanctity of Dunstan's character.

At a synod held at Winchester in 977, at which the young king, and the prelates and nobles of the realm were present, the matters in dispute between the clergy and the monks were discussed. When the arguments had been gone through, a profound silence reigned; all anxiously expecting the reply of Dunstan, who sat with his head hanging down, as if immersed in thought. Suddenly a voice was heard from a crucifix in the room, saying, "Let it not be! let it not be! Ye have judged well; to change were not well!" Even at the time some contrivance was sus-

pected, and certainly the transaction strongly resembles a feat of ventriloquism.

Another synod was held the following year, 978, at Calne, at which the king was not present, on account, it was alleged, of his tender age. The two parties occupied different sides of the room. When his opponents had ended their arguments, Dunstan declared that he would commit the cause of the church to Christ. Instantly the floor gave way under the opposite party, and they were killed or maimed by the falling timbers, while the part where Dunstan and his friends were sitting remained firm and unmoved.* This may doubtless have been accidental, but may not one, without breach of charity, suspect, as Fuller says, "that Dunstan, who had so much of a smith, had here something of a carpenter in him, and some device used by him about pinning and propping up the room."†

ETHELRED (THE UNREADY). 978-1016.

Ethelred mounted, without opposition, the throne which his mother's crime had procured for him, in 978. Though *he* was innocent, Dunstan, at his coronation, pronounced, it is said, a malediction on his reign for the guilt of Elfrida and her accomplices; and rarely has prophecy of ill been more fully accomplished, though Dunstan lived but to see the beginning of the evil. The Danes, who had let the kingdom have

* So the matter is related by Dunstan's biographers, Eadmer and Osbern. The Saxon Chronicle, Malmesbury, Huntingdon, and others, say that Dunstan alone escaped injury by catching hold of a beam. The account in the text seems to us the true one. Lingard regards this and the speaking crucifix as fictions undeserving of notice.

† The opinion of Sir James Mackintosh in regard to both these occurrences appears to be, that they have been not a little exaggerated. In speaking of them, he says, "The progress of a tale of wonder, especially when aided by time or distance, from the smallest beginning to a stupendous prodigy, is too generally known to be more particularly called in aid of an attempt to enforce the reasonableness of dealing charitably, not to say justly, with the memory of those who diffused Christianity among ferocious barbarians."—*A. M. Ed.*

rest since the days of Athelstan, now renewed their ravages. Sweyn, son of the King of Denmark, being banished by his father, assembled a pirate-fleet, and appeared off the coast of England in 982. Chester and London were taken and plundered, and the whole south coast ravaged. The Danes continuing their inroads, the Witan, by the advice of the archbishop Siric, agreed, in 991, to give them ten thousand pounds of silver* to purchase exemption from their ravages ; for which purpose a tax, under the name of *Dane-geld* (*Dane-money*), was imposed. But this cowardly expedient had the fate it merited. It served but to excite the cupidity of the Danes ; and the next year, 992, they appeared in still greater force on the east coast. The English were now roused to energy ; a large fleet was assembled at London, and it was intended to enclose the pirates while in harbour, and then assail them : but the treachery of one of the English leaders frustrated the plan. Alfric, earl of Mercia, having engaged in a conspiracy against Ethelred, had been banished the realm in 985 ; yet such was his influence and power, that he was restored to his lands and office. As a means of securing himself, he had entered into a secret league with the Danes. He now sent them intelligence of the plan for their destruction, and stole away from the army the night before the engagement which took place. The king had the barbarity to put out the eyes of Elfgar, the traitor's son, to punish the misdeeds of the father. Yet, ere long, Alfric was again ruler of Mercia !

In 993, Sweyn, now king of Denmark, and Olave, king of Norway, entered the Humber with a large fleet, and laid all the adjacent country waste. The next year they came and laid siege to London, and, failing to take it, spread their ravages over the southern counties. The king and his council agreed to give them sixteen thousand pounds (£77,000) if they ceased, and to supply them with provisions. They therefore fixed themselves at Southampton, and food came

* See Appendix (E).

to them from all parts of Wessex. Olave soon after visited the king at Andover, and was there baptized. He made a solemn promise, and kept it, never again to molest the realm of England; and, on his return to Norway, he imposed his own faith on all his subjects.

Year after year the Northmen made descents on various parts of the coast, burning the towns and villages, and laying waste the country. The troops collected to oppose them always lost courage and fled, their leaders not seldom setting them the example. In 1002, peace was purchased for twenty-four thousand pounds (\$106,000), and food as before. Meantime the king and his Witan resolved to have recourse to a most atrocious expedient for their future security. It had been the practice of the English kings, from the time of Athelstan, to have great numbers of Danes in their pay, as guards or household troops [*Hus-carles*]; and these, it is said, they quartered on their subjects, one on each house. The *Hus-carles*, acting like soldiers in general, paid great attention to their dress and appearance, and thus became more acceptable in the families of the English than they liked: they also, of course, behaved occasionally with great insolence. At the same time, they acted very remissly against their foreign kinsmen, and were strongly suspected of having intelligence with them. It was therefore resolved to massacre the *Hus-carles* and their families throughout England. Secret orders to this effect were sent to all parts, and on St. Brice's day (November 13th, 1002), the Danes were everywhere fallen on and slain. The ties of affinity (for many of them had married and settled in the country) were wholly disregarded. Age, sex, or rank could claim no exemption: even Gunhilda, sister to Sweyn of Denmark, though a Christian, was, after beholding the death of her husband and son, beheaded by the command of the king's favourite, Edric Streone, the chief instigator, it is thought, of the massacre. With her last breath she declared that her death would bring the greatest evils on England.

The words of Gunhilda proved prophetic. Sweyn,

burning for revenge, and glad of a pretext for war, soon made his appearance on the southern coast; and during four years he spread devastation through all parts of Wessex, and round to East Anglia. In 1006, the king and his Witan agreed to give thirty thousand pounds (\$144,000) and provisions, as before, for peace; and the realm thus had rest for two years. In this space of time measures were adopted for raising a large land and sea force; and the owners of nine hides* of land were obliged to furnish a man with helm and breastplate, and those of three hundred and ten, a ship.† The greatest fleet that had ever been seen in England was assembled in 1009 at Sandwich: but it was as fruitless as the preceding armaments; and Brihtric, brother of Edric, having traduced Wulfnoth, the "Child of Sussex," as he is called, to the king, the latter went off with his division of twenty ships, and ravaged all the south coast. Brihtric sailed with eighty ships in pursuit of him: but his vessels were assailed by a storm, and most of them driven ashore, where they were burned by Wulfnoth. The king and all his nobles, on hearing of this disaster, quitted the fleet, which went back to London; and thus, after all the great expense of preparation, nothing was effected. Immediately afterward came a formidable Danish army, called from its leader "Thurkill's Host," to Sandwich; and, during this and the following year, it spread its ravages almost unopposed through Kent, East Anglia, Mercia, and Wessex. London repelled the invaders from its walls: but they took most of the other towns which they attacked, and Canterbury was given to them by the treachery of an abbot named Elfmar. They led the venerable archbishop Elfeah a captive to their fleet, in the hopes of obtaining a large ransom for him. But he stood firm against them; declaring he had no goods of his own, and would not waste those of the church, which belonged to the poor and needy, nor "provide Christian flesh for Pagan teeth

* A hide of land was no very definite quantity; being as much as it was supposed could be tilled with one plough.—*Am. Ed.*

† This was the origin of ship-money, so fatal to the Stuarts.

by robbing his countrymen for *them*." They dragged him before a kind of council of their chiefs, who were at a rude, tumultuous banquet: their cry was, "Gold, bishop, gold!" and, when he still persisted in refusing, they pelted him with cowhorns and bones. At length one of them smote him with an axe on the head and killed him.* Meantime Edric and the Witan, who were assembled at London, had agreed to purchase the departure of the "Host" for forty-eight thousand pounds (\$230,000); and the king made Thurkill earl of East Anglia, and took him and a great part of his men into his pay.

But all availed not to save England from the Danish yoke. The next year, 1013, King Sweyn appeared with a large and splendidly-equipped fleet at Sandwich; and, sailing thence, entered the Humber. All Northumbria and Lindesey, and all the Danes north of Watling-street, joyfully submitted to him and gave hostages. Leaving his fleet and his hostages with his son Canute (Knut), and having made the country furnish horses for his army, he advanced southward, spreading devastation on his way. London, where the king abode at this time, having repelled his attacks, he went to Bath, where he received the submissions of the western thanes. Meantime Ethelred abandoned London, and took shelter in the Isle of Wight, where, having bitterly complained of the treachery and disaffection of his nobles and generals, he sent the Lady Emma, his wife, and his two sons, for safety to the court of her brother, the Duke of Normandy, whither he was soon obliged to repair himself also. The royal exiles were most kindly received at the Norman court, and Sweyn became the unopposed ruler of all England.

* In speaking of the brutal and savage character of these times, Sir James Mackintosh makes the following reflection: "Let those who consider any tribes of men as irreclaimable barbarians, call to mind that the Danes and Saxons, of whose cruelties a small specimen has been given, were the progenitors of those who, in Scandinavia, in Normandy, in Britain, and in America, are now among the most industrious, intelligent, orderly, and humane of the dwellers upon earth.—*Am. Ed.*

The Duke of Normandy, to whom the King of England was allied by marriage, was the third in descent from Hrolf or Rollo, one of the most formidable of the piratic Northmen in the days of Alfred. Harassed by the continual devastations committed on his dominions by these freebooters, the French king, Charles the Simple, agreed to surrender the province of Neustria to Rollo on the same terms as Alfred had given up East Anglia to Guthrum. Rollo thus became the most powerful vassal of the crown of France. He treated his new subjects with justice and kindness, embraced their religion, and sought to mitigate the ferocity of his freebooting comrades. By degrees the two parties firmly coalesced, the French language became that of both court and people, the manners and religion of the French prevailed, and the province was named Normandy from the Northmen.

Sweyn did not long enjoy his new dominion, but died early in the following year, 1014. The Danish host chose his son Canute king: but the English nobles and clergy met, and resolved to recall King Æthelred, provided he would pledge himself to govern them better than he had done hitherto. The king sent over his son Edmund, surnamed Ironside from his bodily vigour, and a solemn compact was entered into between king and people; he engaging "to be their faithful lord, to better each of the things that they disliked, and to forgive each of the things that had been done or said against him, provided they all unanimously, without treachery, turned to him." A decree was then passed, declaring every Danish king an outlaw in England. Æthelred returned, and marched an army into Lindesey, where Canute was making preparations for war, and laid the country waste. Canute, having retired to his ships, sailed round to Sandwich, where he set the hostages given to his father on shore, after cutting off their hands, ears, and noses.

The next year, 1015, a great council was held at Oxford. Among those who repaired to it were Sigferth and Morcar, the chief thanes of the Danish

burghs :* but the treacherous Edric having enticed them into his bower (*bure*), or private apartment, had them there slain, probably with the knowledge of the king, who immediately seized their possessions. The widow of Sigferth was confined at Malmesbury, whence Edmund the Atheling† carried her off by force and made her his wife ; and, in her right, took forcible possession of all the lands of Sigferth and Morcar. As Canute was now ravaging the coast of Wessex, an army under Edmund and Edric advanced to oppose him : but no action took place, in consequence of an attempt of Edric to betray the prince. Foiled in his attempt, the traitor went off with a part of his forces,‡ and openly joined the enemy. All Wessex now submitted to Canute ; and he and Edric led their forces in mid-winter into Mercia, burning and plundering as usual. Edmund vainly tried to collect a sufficient army to oppose them : the king, fearing treachery, would not take the field ; and Canute, having ravaged all the east of Mercia, entered and subdued Northumbria, whose earl had joined the Atheling.

While such was the state of affairs, the troubled life and reign of king Ethelred came to a close. He died on St. George's day, 1016, at London.

EDMUND II. (IRONSIDE). 1016.

On the death of King Ethelred, all the Witan who were present joined with the citizens in electing Edmund the Atheling king : but the Witan of Wessex meantime met at Southampton and chose Canute ; and the sword was now to decide between the rival monarchs. Canute sailed up the Thames and laid siege to London, which was bravely defended by the citizens ; and, in the mean time, Edmund, who had escaped from it by night, raised the men of Wessex.

* These were Lincoln, Nottingham, Leicester, Derby, and Stamford.

† Atheling (from *ethel*, noble) is equivalent to crown-prince or heir-apparent.

‡ "With forty ships," is the language of the chronicler. These are said to be Danish troops, whom it was the habit to reckon by ships'-crews. See Lingard.

Canute advanced against him, and the armies encountered at a place named Searston. Night ended an obstinate conflict; and in the morning it was renewed. Edmund, with his battle-axe, cleft the shield of his rival and wounded his horse; the Danes crowded to the relief of their king, and, while Edmund was in the midst of them, the traitor Edric, who fought that day on the side of Canute, cut off the head of a thane, and, holding it up, cried, "The head of Edmund!" The English were beginning to give way; but Edmund hurled his spear at the traitor, and, ascending an eminence, took off his helmet that he might be recognised. The battle was thus restored, but night again terminated it.

Canute fell back towards London, followed by Edmund. A battle was fought at Brentford, and another at Oxford. In a third battle at Asington, in Essex, the traitor Edric, who was now on the side of Edmund, just as the action had commenced, cried out, "Flee, English! flee, English! dead is Edmund!" and then set the example of flight. "Thus had Canute the victory," says the chronicle, "though all England fought against him, and all the nobility of England was there undone." Canute followed Edmund into Gloucestershire, where that indefatigable prince had assembled another army. When the forces stood in array, Edmund proposed to decide their claims by single combat: but Canute, saying that he, a man of small stature, would have little chance against the tall, athletic Edmund, proposed, on the contrary, for them to divide the realm as their fathers had done. A meeting was held in the Isle of Olney for the purpose; and Edric and the Witan there arranged that Edmund should retain Wessex, Essex, East Anglia, and London, with a superiority over the rest of the kingdom, which was assigned to the Dane. But, before the end of the year, Edmund was no more, and Edric is accused of having been the author of his death.

CHAPTER V.

DANISH KINGS, AND SAXON LINE RESTORED.*

CANUTE.—HAROLD I. (Harefoot).—HARDAKNUTE.—EDWARD III (the Confessor).—Godwin.—Harold.—Harold in Normandy.—HAROLD II.—Defeat of the King of Norway.—Landing of the Duke of Normandy.—Battle of Hastings.

CANUTE. 1016–1035.

WHEN the death of Edmund was known, the Witan assembled at London, and decided that Canute should be king of all England, and they outlawed the family of Ethelred. Canute soon after put to death Edwy, the brother of Edmund; and he sent that monarch's two infant children to his half-brother, the King of Sweden, requesting him, it is said, to free him from uneasiness by their death. The Swede shrunk from staining his hands with the blood of the babes, and sent them to the King of Hungary, who brought them up carefully. One of them died; the other, named Edward, was married to his benefactor's sister-in-law, and had issue, of which we shall hear anon. Canute might thus have been so far secure; but the Lady Emma had her two sons with her in Normandy, and Duke Robert, their cousin, was inclined to assert their rights. To obviate this danger, Canute sought and obtained the hand of Emma in marriage, engaging to leave the crown of England to her issue by him.

Canute divided his realm into four separate governments. Wessex he retained in his own hands; Mercia was ruled by Edric; East Anglia by Thurkill the Dane; and Northumberland by the king's kinsman Eric. But in the very first year of the new monarch's reign, Edric met the reward of his treachery in the following manner. Not content with Mercia, he sought more; alleging, as his merits, his treasons to

* Authorities: same as before, with the *Encomium Emmæ*, In gulf, Ordericus, Pictaviensis, and Gemmatensis.

Edmund. Canute replied, that he who had been a traitor to an old master would hardly be faithful to a new one. Eric then, probably in concert with the king, struck Edric dead with a battle-axe : his body was flung into the Thames, and his head stuck on the highest gate of London. Several of the English nobles were put to death, and their possessions given to the Danes ; and these men, as was to be expected, treated the English with such insolence as drew on them their universal hatred.

Canute was the most powerful monarch of the age. He was king of England, Denmark, and Norway, and superior lord of Sweden and Scotland. England was his chief abode ; but he frequently visited his northern dominions, where the hostility of the Slavonian Vends, who held the south coast of the Baltic, and the independent spirit of the Swedes, gave occasional employment to his arms. In one of these expeditions, the native English troops, commanded by Godwin, son of Wulfnoth, "the Child of Sussex," being stationed near the enemy's camp, their leader, seeing a favourable opportunity, fell on it in the night and completely routed the foe. Canute, to reward Godwin, gave him his daughter in marriage, and highly advanced him in wealth and honour. Through all the reign of this king, England was at peace. Towards its close, in 1033, Malcolm, king of Scots, and his son Duncan, prince of Cumbria, refused homage ; alleging that Canute, not being the rightful king, was not entitled to claim it : but the appearance of that monarch with a large army soon reduced them to obedience, and they acknowledged themselves his vassals.

Advancing age mitigated the original harshness of Canute's character : his rule became just and equitable, and he gradually gained the affections of his English subjects. Religion also engaged much of his thoughts and time ; and he showed his piety in the manner of that age, by building churches and endowing monasteries. He even, in 1031, made a pilgrimage to Rome ; and engaged the princes through whose dominions he passed, to cease from exacting tolls from the English pilgrims.

It is said that one day, while he was riding at Southampton, his courtiers were extolling his might and power. Canute ordered his chair to be set on the strand, where the tide was now coming in, and, as lord of the ocean, commanded it not to approach : but, heedless of his mandate, the waves pursued their destined course, and soon flowed around the royal seat. Then turning to his flatterers; the king bade them confess the weakness and impotence of all human power, compared with that of Him who had said to the ocean : "Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther." After this he deposited the crown in the Cathedral of Winchester, and never again resumed it. Canute died at Shaftesbury in 1035, after a reign of eighteen years, regretted by his subjects, and confessedly inferior in fame and ability to no monarch of the time.

HAROLD I. (HAREFOOT). 1035-1040.

Canute left three sons, Sweyn, Harold, and Hardacnute. To the last, who was the son of the Lady Emma, and was alone legitimate, England was due by the marriage contract : but Canute had by will appointed him ruler of Denmark (where he now was), and of the Danes in England ; while to Sweyn he left Norway, and to Harold, England. This last, who was on the spot, and had secured the royal hoard or treasure, was supported by Leofric earl of Mercia, the thanes north of the Thames, and the citizens of London ; while Godwin, now Earl of Wessex, and the English in general, were in favour of Hardacnute. A Witenagemot was held at Oxford, in which it was agreed that Hardacnute should be King of Wessex. As he still remained in Denmark, his mother Emma, aided by Godwin, governed it as regent. Her two sons by Ethelred, who were in Normandy, meantime fitted out a fleet and sailed over to England to maintain their right : but, on coming to Southampton, they found the people prepared to oppose them, and they retired. Soon after, in 1037, a letter was written in the name of their mother, inviting one or both of them to come over and assert their claim to the crown ; and Alfred, the more

spirited of the two, set sail from Flanders with about 600 followers. Godwin received him with much seeming kindness, and they set out from Winchester: but at Guildford they were all seized in the night by armed men; and, the next morning, being drawn up in a line, with their hands bound behind them, one out of every ten was selected and set at liberty, a few were reserved for slaves, and the rest were inhumanly butchered. The unhappy prince was sent to Ely, where he was blinded, and soon after died. Godwin was accused of this crime; Harold having, it is said, gained him by a promise to marry his daughter.* Emma, not thinking herself any longer safe, retired to Bruges, in Flanders, where, some time after, she was joined by her son Hardacnute; and Harold dying in 1040, after a reign of about four years, he was unanimously invited to occupy the throne.

HARDAKNUTE. 1040-1042.

One of the first acts of the new monarch was to avenge on the senseless remains of Harold his own exclusion, and the murder of his brother Alfred: he caused them to be dug up and flung into the Thames. This king imposed such heavy Danegeld on the people, that commotions prevailed in various parts, and particularly at Worcester; which town was stormed and plundered by his command. The reign of Hardacnute also was brief. At the wedding banquet of his banner-bearer, a Dane named Towed the Proud,† at Lambeth, which he honoured with his presence, and where the drinking, as usual, was deep, he fell speechless to the ground, and expired a few days after (1042).

EDWARD III. (THE CONFESSOR). 1042-1066.

Edward, the remaining son of Ethelred, was at this

* Dr. Lingard has, in our opinion, made a very good defence for Godwin.

† The bride was the daughter of Osgod Clapa, from whom the adjoining Clapham, i. e., Clapa-ham, appears to have derived its name.

time in England, whither he had been invited by his brother, the late king ; and, being of a timid character, was preparing to fly to Normandy, when Godwin proposed to secure him the crown on condition of his espousing his daughter Editha the Fair. Edward assented : the influence of Godwin smoothed all difficulties in a great council held at London, and at Easter, in the year 1043, Edward was crowned at Winchester. To gain the affections of his people, he abolished the odious tax of Danegeld ; and at the same time resumed the lavish grants of his predecessors to their Danish favourites. His conduct to his mother was rather harsh. Under the pretext of her having neglected himself and his brother after her second marriage, he stripped her of her property, and confined her in the monastery of Wherwell, near Winchester.

According to a writer of little authority,* the cause of Emma's confinement was said to have been the suspicion of her being too familiar with Ailwin, bishop of Winchester. Emma, it is added, conscious of innocence, and indignant that the character of the pious prelate should be exposed to unmerited obloquy, offered to clear him by the ordeal of red-hot iron. After some opposition on the part of Robert the Norman, archbishop of Canterbury, she was allowed to do so ; and, having implored the favour of the sainted prelate Swithun,† she walked barefoot, blindfold, and uninjured, over nine red-hot ploughshares ; four being for herself, and five for the prelate. She and Ailwin then bestowed nine manors each on St. Swithun.‡

The power of Godwin was now at its height : he himself ruled Wessex and Kent, his son Sweyn was over a large portion of Mercia, and Harold, a third son, was earl of East Anglia and Essex ; so that his influence extended over the whole south of England. The remaining part of Mercia was governed by Earl Leofric, Northumbria obeyed Earl Siward, and Eng-

* Brompton.

† See above, p. 40.

‡ It was probably these manors that gave occasion to the legend. We need hardly observe that Brompton's book is of no authority whatever

land was thus, in effect, divided among three great families. Still Edward, though ruled by the Godwin family, never liked them; and, in consequence of this dislike, or urged by that mistaken piety which acquired him from the monkish writers the title of Confessor, he never claimed his conjugal rights from Editha the Fair. Godwin gradually became alienated from him; and the king's weakness soon furnished him with a popular subject of complaint. Edward, gentle and feeble in character, and reared in Normandy, preferred the Normans, whose manners were more polished than those of the English. Numbers of them repaired to his court, where they were received with great favour; and the chief offices in church and state were committed to them. Their language, the Norman-French, also became that of the court. The popular jealousy was naturally excited; and Godwin secretly nourished it. At length an event occurred which brought matters to a crisis.

Eustace, earl of Boulogne, the king's brother-in-law, having come over to England in 1051, and stayed some time at court, proceeded to Dover on his return. He and his train entered the town in armour, and insisted on having free quarters. One of his men being refused admittance into a house, fell upon and wounded its master; the Dover-man slew the intruder; the alarm spread; Eustace and his men got to horse, and came and killed him on his own hearth. They then went through the town, slaying all they met; but most of their own party lost their lives in the fray. Eustace hastened to court to complain; and Edward, without inquiry, ordered Godwin to repair to Dover, as it was in his earldom, and punish the town by military execution. Godwin refused; alleging that the people were not in fault. Matters speedily came to a rupture: Godwin and his sons Sweyn and Harold assembled an army, and demanded the surrender of the earl and his followers. The king called on Siward, earl of Northumberland, and Leofric, earl of Mercia, to come to his aid; and they assembled their troops, which were also joined by those of Ralph, a Norman,

who had been made Earl of Worcester. The two armies approached each other in Gloucestershire ; but no engagement ensued, as the majority in both declared against shedding the best English blood in civil contest. A truce was effected, hostages were given on both sides, and it was agreed to refer the whole matter to a Witenagemot, to be holden at London. At the appointed time, Godwin came with his troops to Southwark : but measures had been taken to reduce his strength ; and finding he could not dictate, and that even his personal safety was not certain, he took to flight, and the Gemot passed a sentence of outlawry on him and his sons. The king gratified his spleen against the family by stripping the innocent Editha of all that she possessed, and confining her in the convent of Wherwell, of which his sister was abbess.

Godwin and his son Sweyn retired to Flanders, taking with them a ship laden with treasure ; while Harold sought refuge in Ireland. His earldom was given to Algar, the son of Leofric, and a nobleman named Odda obtained the west part of Wessex. When the king's power was thus re-established, his cousin William, the young duke of Normandy, came over with a numerous train to visit him ; and, having spent a short time at the English court and witnessed the state of affairs, he returned home.

But, though the Godwin family were outlawed, they were not reduced. The old earl assembled a fleet in 1052 in Flanders ; Harold collected forces in Ireland, and, having united their strength, they appeared on the south coast. Surrey, Sussex, Kent, and Essex declared for them ; the peasantry joyfully supplied them with provisions ; they sailed up to London, where the king was residing, and sent to demand the restitution of their honours. A denial being given, Godwin's troops became furious ; but he restrained them, and, having stationed them in the Strand (as the north bank of the Thames, west of the city wall, was named), prepared for action. The king's troops were numerous, but they were loath to fight against their coun-

1053-1058.] EDWARD III., THE CONFESSOR.

trymen, and he was obliged to yield to their desire of an accommodation. A Witenagemot was assembled, before which Godwin protested his own and his sons' innocence of all that had been laid to their charge. His power was too great for his veracity to be questioned; all the forfeited honours and possessions were restored, and the Lady Editha also "restored in her honour." On the other hand, the foreigners, with a few exceptions, were outlawed; and the Norman bishops of Canterbury and Dorchester only saved their lives by a precipitate flight.

Godwin, however, did not long enjoy his power. As he was sitting at the royal table the following Easter, in 1053, he fell down in a fit, and died within a few days. The legend says that the king had charged him with the murder of his brother Alfred, whereupon he cried, "May this morsel be my last! I did it!" and the piece of bread which he attempted to swallow choked him. His power and honours were left to his son Harold, who resigned East Anglia to Edgar, who had held it when he was himself an outlaw. On the death of his father Leofric in 1057, Edgar succeeded to Mercia; and he then resigned East Anglia, a part or the whole of which was given to Harold's brother Gurth. Edgar was outlawed shortly after, in 1058, on a charge of treason. He retired to Griffith, prince of Wales, who had married his sister, and he so wasted and destroyed the adjoining country, that Harold was glad to make peace with him and let him resume his honours.

Harold had also an opportunity of extending his influence in the north. Duncan, king of Scots, had been treacherously murdered, in 1039, by one of his subordinate chiefs named Macbeth, who then expelled Malcolm, the heir, and seized the crown. Malcolm, after some time, appealed to Edward as his superior lord; and, by the king's directions, Edward led an army into Scotland in 1054, where he defeated and slew the usurper, and placed Malcolm on the throne. Siward's eldest son had fallen in the

battle. He died himself the following year,* and his remaining son, Waltheof, being too young to govern the earldom, Harold made the king confer it on his own brother Tosti. After some years, however, the thanes, weary of the tyranny of their new earl, rose against him, and drove him away in 1065. They appointed Morcar, son of Algar and brother of Edwin, who had now succeeded his father in Mercia, to be their earl, and Harold deemed it prudent to acquiesce in their choice. England was now, in effect, divided between him and the sons of Algar.

The king, who had mounted the throne at the age of forty, being advanced in years and childless, began to think of appointing a successor. He therefore had summoned from Hungary his nephew Edward, named the Outlaw, the son of Ironside. The prince came, in 1057, with his wife and three children, Edgar, Christina, and Margaret; but, ere he had seen the face of the king, he fell sick and died, to the great grief of all the people. The king, it is said, then passing over the young Edgar, whose incapacity was apparent, made a will, appointing the Duke of Normandy his successor. It is also said that Harold was the person who brought the duke the tidings of the bequest in his favour: but there is great contradiction in the various accounts of this matter. That Harold bound himself by oath to forward the views of William, is a matter of little doubt: how the oath was obtained is problematic. The common account is as follows:

Godwin had been obliged to give one of his sons and a grandson to the king to be kept as hostages beyond sea; and they had been committed to the charge of the Duke of Normandy. Harold, having procured Edward's permission for their release, proceeded in

*When Siward heard of the death of his son, he asked how he had fallen; and being told that his wounds were all in front, he said he was satisfied, and desired no better death for himself. When he felt his own death approaching, he declared he would die as a warrior; and, arrayed in armour, with his spear in his hand, he breathed his last.

person, in 1065, to Normandy to obtain them. Being driven by a tempest on the coast of Ponthieu, he was, in accordance with the barbarous usages of the age, made a prisoner by the Count Guy, who expected to obtain a large ransom from him. Harold sent to inform the Duke of Normandy, the count superior, of his being thus seized when he was on his way to the Norman court; and William forthwith ordered his vassal to transmit his captive to Rouen. Here Harold was treated with the utmost courtesy, and no objection was made to the release of his relations. William then took occasion to inform him of his pretensions to the crown, adding that the king intended to make a will in his favour; and he desired the aid of Harold in furtherance of his claims, vowing the utmost gratitude, and offering him the hand of his daughter Adela. Harold was astounded; but, knowing himself to be in the duke's power, he promised everything. William required his oath; Harold swore on the missal or mass-book, in the usual manner in presence of a large assembly; the missal was then removed, and there appeared beneath it a vessel filled with the bones of saints and other relics, which William had caused to be placed there secretly, and on which Harold was now held to have sworn.

Another account says that the object of Harold's voyage was to inform William of King Edward's intentions in his favour. A third and more probable account is, that Harold was merely sailing along the coast of Sussex on business or pleasure, when a storm drove him to Ponthieu.

The life of the feeble monarch was fast drawing to its close. Aware of the approach of death, he hastened the consecration of the Abbey of Westminster, which he had rebuilt. On Innocents' day, 1065, the fane was dedicated in his name by Queen Editha; and on the eve of the Epiphany (Jan. 5) he breathed his last, and was interred in the abbey the following day.

A prince more devoid of energy than Edward is not to be found in history. His very external appearance displayed his character: his hair and skin being re-

markably white, and his complexion rosy like that of a child. He was abjectly superstitious, for which he was canonized by the church, and miracles were ascribed to him. He was weakly indulgent and lavishly charitable. If he showed any symptoms of vigour, it was in his love of the chase, between which and his devotions he divided his time. For the affectionate remembrance in which he was held by the English nation, he was more indebted to the Norman tyranny than to his own deserts; his reign was looked back to as halcyon days between the rigours of the Danish and Norman rule; and the laws of the good King Edward (meaning thereby not his code, but the laws which prevailed in his time) were the constant demand of the people for near a century.*

* The following remarks of Sir James Mackintosh are not without interest in this connexion. "Perhaps," says he, "the virtues and vices of the eleventh century, in their most striking form and most conspicuous position, cannot be more adequately represented than by Dunstan, Canute, and Edward. It was a period of aspiring ecclesiastics and of savage rulers, tinctured with some rudiments of the arts of war and government, where those who escaped atrocious crimes were too ignorant and base not to embrace superstition instead of religion. Dunstan was a zealous and, perhaps, useful reformer of religious institutions, of commanding abilities, of a haughty, stern, and turbulent nature, without more personal ambition, perhaps, than is usually blended with public principle, and who, if he were proved guilty of some pious frauds, might not unreasonably pray that a part of the burden of such guilt might be transferred from him to his age. Canute was a barbaric conqueror, who ruled his fierce subjects by maxims which would have been far more blame-worthy in a better age than they were in his troublous and lawless times. Prudence and moderation, if not humanity, were at length grafted on his ferocious energies, and, at the last, it might be said, with little exaggeration, that his vices belonged to the age, and his virtues to the man.

"Edward was a royal anchorite, who, if he had been a professed recluse, or even a private man, might have been justly thought venerable or excusable, according to the various opinions and prepossessions of those who contemplate his character. But his abject superstition deprived a clear conscience of the cheerful and courageous temper which is its natural companion; his petty observances distracted his mind from the performance of the most sacred and momentous duties; his ascetic extravagances represented God as an object of slavish fear, and tended to extinguish

It is, perhaps, not undeserving of notice, that the Confessor was the first who touched persons afflicted with the king's evil, under the superstitious belief that it might so be cured.*

HAROLD II. 1066.

It was said, and perhaps with truth, that, as the late king lay on his deathbed, he yielded to the importunity of Harold, and named him to succeed. At all events, on the day of Edward's funeral, Harold was crowned without opposition by Aldred, archbishop of York. The southern counties, which he and his family had long governed, readily acknowledged his authority. To gain the good-will of the Northumbrians, he made a progress to the north, accompanied by Wulstan, the good bishop of Worcester. His efforts were successful; and, to bind Edwin and Morcar to his interests, he espoused their sister Editha.

The news of the death of Edward and the coronation of Harold reached the Duke of Normandy as he was hunting in his park near Rouen. The bow, it is said, dropped from his hand; he stood a few moments wrapped in thought, then threw himself into a boat, and, crossing the Seine, entered his palace, and, after an interval of moody silence, called his barons to council. By their advice, he sent to require Harold to perform his engagements and resign the crown. The reply was such as might be expected: a refusal veiled under specious pretexts; in effect, a defiance of the Norman power. Forthwith William summoned a parliament of his barons at Lillebonne; and, though the

the love of man. His administration was not his own: he was the mere instrument of the factions who, for a while, took possession of his person and ruled his feeble mind."—*History of England*, i., 66, Harpers' edition.—*Am. Ed.*

* The scrofula, the disease here spoken of, received its name of king's evil from this circumstance. "The opinion of Edward's sanctity," says an historian, "procured belief among the superstitious vulgar to this mode of cure: and his successors regarded it as a part of their royalty to support the same idea." The practice was continued up to the accession of the house of Brunswick, the present reigning family.—*Am. Ed.*

nature of their tenures did not oblige them to cross the sea in the service of their liege-lord, they agreed, at the impulse of William Fitz-Osbern, surnamed the Bold, to aid in the conquest of England. Promises of rich rewards were made by the duke to stimulate them to exertion: similar promises were held forth in proclamations; and the flower of the chivalry of Brittany, Poitou, Anjou, and other parts, crowded to the standard of William.*

The pope, when applied to, readily condemned the perjury of Harold; and sent the duke a consecrated banner, and a ring containing a hair of St. Peter; at the same time stipulating for a more punctual payment of the Peterpence.†

Meantime William aided Harold's brother Tosti, who was in Flanders, and enabled him to collect a force of sixty vessels, with which he passed over to the Isle of Wight, and began to ravage it and the adjacent coast. Being driven off by Harold's forces, he sailed away to Lindesey: but here finding Edwin and Morcar too strong for him, he went to Scotland; and, at the end of the summer, Harold Hardrada, king of Norway, to whom he had become a vassal, having entered the Tyne, he came and joined him. They thence sailed to the Humber, and went up the Ouse towards York. On the right bank of this river they were engaged, on the 20th of September, by the earls Edwin and Morcar. The English were defeated with great slaughter, and the two earls were besieged in York.

King Harold, who had assembled a numerous fleet, and taken a position with his land-forces between Hastings and Pevensey to await the arrival of the Normans, on hearing of the landing of the Norwegians, led his troops with all speed to the north. He reached the neighbourhood of York four days after the defeat of Edwin and Morcar, and came up with the Norwegian king and a part of his forces. Tosti

* William was the natural son of Duke Robert.

† This was an annual tax of a penny a house, granted to the holy see by King Ethelwulf.

advised his ally to fall back to his ships: but the proud spirit of Hardrada spurned at retreat. He sent three messages to his ships, to summon his remaining warriors to his side; and then, retiring to Stamford bridge on the Derwent, drew up his men in order of battle. His array was a hollow circle, in whose centre waved the Landeyda (*Land-waster*), the royal banner of Norway; the outer rank fixed their spears obliquely in the ground, while the second rank protruded theirs, so that the English, who were mostly cavalry, would impale their horses if they made a charge. As Hardrada was riding round the circle to inspect it, his horse stumbled and threw him. "Who is that warrior in the blue mantle with a glittering helmet, that has fallen?" inquired Harold. He was told that it was the King of Norway. "He is a large and stately person," replied he, "but his fall shows that his end is at hand!" Harold then sent to Tosti, offering him the earldom of Northumbria and other honours. "That offer should have been made last winter," said Tosti; "but, if I accept it, what will be given to the King of Norway?" "Seven feet of ground, or, as he is a very tall man, perhaps a little more," replied the envoy. "Go back," cried he, "and tell King Harold to make him ready for the fight; for never shall it be told in Norway that Earl Tosti left Harold, son of Sigurd, and went over to his foes."

On the 25th of September the fight began. The English cavalry, in their usual manner, charged in masses, dispersed, reassembled, and charged again. The ardour of their foes at length made them break their firm array to pursue them; the English rushed in at the opening; Hardrada fell pierced in the neck by an arrow. Tosti took the command; the troops from the fleet arrived; the battle continued till Tosti and every chief of name had fallen; and the evening closed on a complete victory obtained by the English. Harold dismissed Olave, the son of the fallen king, in safety; and, having taken possession of the fleet and booty, led his troops to York. Here, as he sat at his royal banquet, tidings came to him of the landing of the Normans in Sussex.

The preparations of the Duke of Normandy being completed, a numerous fleet of vessels of all sizes assembled in the month of August at the mouth of the little river Dive, to convey his forces to England.* But the wind proved adverse for more than a month; and when, at the time of the equinox, it changed, and the armament put to sea, a storm came on, and, though the greater part of the ships escaped to St. Vallery, near Dieppe, several were lost, and the shore was covered with wrecks and the bodies of the drowned. To appease the wrath of Heaven, William caused the body of St. Vallery to be carried in solemn procession; and when the weather became serene, the armament again put to sea, the duke's galley leading the way. This was a present to him from his wife Matilda. On its prow stood a golden boy, his right hand pointing to England, and his left holding an ivory trumpet to his mouth. The vessels advanced so unequally, that, when the duke reached the English coast, many of them were still twenty leagues in the rear; and they would have been an easy prey to the English fleet if it had been at hand: but fortune favoured William in every way. The wind, which he had deemed so adverse, had only detained him till Hardrada had landed and drawn the disciplined forces of Harold to the north; and in that interval the English fleet had been obliged to disperse to get provisions, and the wind had not yet permitted it to reassemble. He landed without opposition at Pevensey on the 28th of September; whence he advanced to Hastings, and raised fortifications at both places to protect his ships, which were speedily blocked up by the English fleet.†

It is said, that when William sprang to land from his galley, he stumbled and fell. The superstition of the age might have converted this into an ill omen: but the soldier who raised him had the presence of mind to avert it. Seeing his hands full of mud, he

* See Appendix (F).

† Hence the falsehood appears of the story of his burning his ships.

cried, "Fortunate leader! you have already taken England! its earth is in your hands!"

Harold flew to London on hearing of the landing of the Norman. Though he had lost some of his best troops in the late battle, and, it is said, had disgusted the rest by retaining the whole of the Norwegian spoil, he assembled within six days a force which he deemed sufficient to meet the invaders. He sent spies to ascertain their strength. William, it is said, caused these men to be led through his camp, and then dismissed them. As the Normans shaved the upper lip, contrary to the English custom, the spies told Harold that they looked like an army of priests. He laughed, and said, they would find these priests right valiant soldiers. Messages passed between the two rivals. William offered Harold the option of a legal trial of their claims, or a single combat. Harold replied that God should judge between them. His brother Gurth then urged that, as he had been so unfortunate as to be obliged to take an oath of fealty to William, it would be wiser for him not to enter the battle in person, but to let one whose conscience was clear lead the troops. Harold derided these apprehensions, and forthwith set out with his forces, in the hopes of surprising the Normans as he had the Norwegians: but William was too alert. His scouts brought him timely word; and Harold, giving over his plan of a night-attack, the two armies took a position at a place anciently named Senlac, now called Battle, from the event, eight miles on the London side of Hastings.

It was the custom of that age for the warriors to employ themselves in devotional exercises the night previous to a battle, and to hear mass and receive the sacrament in the morning. With this the Normans complied; while the English, we are told, passed the night in feasting and revelry. At dawn on the 15th of October, Harold drew up his troops on the declivity of a hill in one compact, solid mass. Their rear was protected by an extensive wood, and each man was covered by his shield and grasped a battle-axe, the ancient English weapon. The king and all his

nobles, and other horsemen, dismounted and took their station with the rest; in the centre waved the royal banner, containing the figure of a fighting warrior woven in gold, and adorned with precious stones; and beneath it stood Harold, and his brothers Gurth and Leofwin. On an opposite eminence the duke marshalled his troops in three lines: the first of archers, the second of heavy infantry, and the third of his numerous cavalry in five squadrons. The papal banner was raised in their front by Toustaine the Fair; and William bore suspended from his neck the relics on which Harold had sworn.

The Normans raised their war-cry of "God help us!" and advanced; the English responded by shouts of "Holy rood! God's rood!"* A Norman knight, it is said, named Taillefer, preceded the army, mounted on a stately horse, tossing his sword up in the air with one hand and catching it with the other, and singing aloud the deeds of the hero Roland. He slew two English warriors, but fell by the hand of a third. The Normans now ascended the hill. Their archers, having discharged their arrows, fell back on the infantry: but neither could make any impression on the English phalanx. The cavalry then charged: the battle-axe hewed them down; the Norman left wing, horse and foot, turned and fled; the opposite English broke from the mass and pursued; a report was spread that the duke had fallen; when William took off his helmet and rode along the line. A body of cavalry got in the rear of the English, who had pursued: the fugitives turned, and the English were all cut to pieces. Again the Normans assailed the English phalanx: but, firm and unmoved, it withstood the shock. William had then recourse to stratagem: a part of his horse feigned flight, and the English again broke and pursued: a deep ditch, concealed by vegetation, lay in the way; pursuers and pursued fell into it pell-mell, and the English were destroyed as before. The same stratagem was tried with the same success in

* Holy cross! God's cross!

another part of the line. Still the main body of the English stood unbroken around their king: but William had directed his archers to shoot upward, that their arrows might fall down on their enemies, and by one of these Harold was wounded in the eye. His brothers were already fallen. Twenty Norman knights rushed to seize the royal banner; Harold was slain; and the English broke and fled. It was now night: but the Normans pursued them by the light of the moon; and the fugitives, turning on them at a place which was full of ditches, took a severe vengeance for their defeat. Thus was this memorable battle terminated. The victors lost in it a fourth of their army; but the loss of the vanquished, like their original number, is unknown.

William caused a spot near where Harold had fallen to be cleared, and pitched his tent there; in which he and his barons supped that night. He afterward founded an abbey on the spot, named Battle; in which prayers were to be continually offered up for the souls of those who had fallen.* Though Harold's mother offered its weight in gold for his body, he refused it. He caused it to be buried on the seashore, saying, "He guarded the coast when living, let him still guard it now that he is dead." He seems, however, to have afterward relented; and the remains of Harold finally reposed at the Abbey of Waltham, which he had founded.†

* See Appendix (G).
VOL. I.—H

† See Appendix (H).

CHAPTER VI.

THE ANGLO-SAXON CONSTITUTION.*

Division of the People.—Magistrates.—Division of the Land.—
Courts of Justice.—Witena-gemot.—Punishment of Crimes.—
Ordeals.—Freeborh or Frankpledge.—Feudal Usages.—The
Church.—The Revenue.

In our attempt to sketch the political condition of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, we will consider the people, the land, and the institutions.

We have above observed the resemblance which England under the Saxons presented to the heroic age of Greece. In both, the royal families were a peculiar caste, claiming their descent from the supreme deity adored by the people; both likewise had a class of landed nobility, and an inferior class of ignoble cultivators and artisans; and in both there was a class without personal freedom. This division of society was by no means, however, peculiar to them. It is to be found throughout a great part of the world at the present day.

The name of the Anglo-Saxon nobility, as a class, was *Eorls* or *Eorlcundmen*.† They seem to have consisted of two parts: the *Hlafords* or Lords, those who were actually in the possession of land, and its rights and privileges; and the *Sithcundmen*, or those who were noble by blood, but who had not landed property to entitle them to the rank of *Hlaford*.‡ They were a kind of inferior nobility or gentry.

* For the subjects treated in this chapter, see Palgrave's work already quoted, Hallam's *Middle Ages*, and Lingard's *History of England*. See also Allen's *Inquiry into the Rise and Growth of the Royal Prerogative in England*.

† In the Appendix (I) we will explain all the Anglo-Saxon terms which occur in the following pages.

‡ This is the hypothesis of Sir F. Palgrave.

The inferior order of cultivators, answering to the *demos* of the Greeks, were named *Ceorles*. Like the nobility, they seem to have consisted of two classes: those who had, and those who had not, property; the *Heorth-fastmen*, or householders, and the *Folghers*, followers or labourers, answering to the farmers and farm-servants of the present day. The *Ceorl* was free, but he owed service to a lord; and, though attached to the soil, he had a property in it, and could not be removed so long as he paid the customary dues, and rendered the usual services to his lord. He could also, by acquiring a sufficient quantity of land, rise into the class of the gentry.

Beneath these orders of freemen were the *Theowes*, or slaves, who were the absolute property of their masters, like their cattle, and might be sold in the same manner. In fact, there was a very active slave-trade carried on in England throughout the whole of this period.*

It is very probable that the Anglo-Saxons brought this political division with them from their original country. The chiefs who served under Hengist, Ella, Cerdic, and the other descendants of Wodin, led the *Ceorles* who lived on their lands; and, when the conquered lands were divided, the same relation was continued. Numbers of the Britons, like the provincials of the Continent, must have sunk into the same state of villenage; for it is utterly incredible that they could have been wholly driven out of the country. As the Germans, like most ancient nations, frequently reduced the vanquished to slavery, the first Anglo-Saxon *Theowes* may have been British captives: but crime, and debt, and captivity in war, gradually reduced many of the dominant race to the same wretched state; and, as the child followed the condition of the parent, the class of *Theowes* must have multiplied rapidly.

We read of a farther division of the free population into three classes, according to the amount of their

* See above, p. 31.

weregild (a term we shall presently explain), namely, *Twelfhand-men*, *Sixhand-men*, and *Twihand-men*. As the first were the Eorls, and the last the Ceorles, it is probable that the intermediate class were the Sithcundmen of the older times.

The kings and the great Hlafords, being possessed of large quantities of land, used to grant it to men who were strong and valiant, receiving, in return, their military services. These men, who were probably originally Sithcundmen, were denominated *Thanes* or *Knights*: i. e., servants. Their numbers gradually increased, they became the nobility and gentry of the counties, and their name took the place of that of Eorl. We find them divided into king's Thanes and lesser Thanes.

The chief magistrate of the nation was the *Cyning* or king, of the race of Wodin, but elected to the throne by the voices of the Witan. He held the chief command in war, was supreme judge, and appointed all the inferior magistrates. He exercised the same authority in the church. The *Ealdorman* was set over a shire as the king's vicegerent; and sometimes his jurisdiction extended over the whole of one of the former kingdoms. After the Danish conquest, the title of Ealdorman was changed for that of Earl, answering to the Jarl of the North; and, as we have seen, the title and power became hereditary in families. The *Gerefas*, or reeves, formed a numerous class of functionaries, of which the principal were the Shire, Borough, and Port reeves. They collected tolls, arrested malefactors, held courts, &c. The lords, in their demesnes, had also their reeves, who performed similar offices.

The lands were divided into Folcland and Bocland: but it is very difficult to learn their exact nature. The Bocland is evidently that which was held by charter or grant (*boc* meaning *book*). The land of the thanes was of this kind; and it may be regarded as nearly the same as the *fief* or *feud* of the Continent. The most probable opinion respecting the Folcland seems to be that which regards it as being

the same with the Odal-land of Scandinavia, or the Allodium of the Continent : that is, land held in full propriety, the use of which might be transferred to another on condition of service.* The Folcland would therefore appear to be the land originally seized by the chiefs and nobles of the invading armies, and parcelled out to their followers.

The first and lowest political division of the land was the Town, or township. This was equivalent to the Manor of the Normans. It contained the land which the lord held in his own hands, that which he had granted by charter, that held by the Ceorles, and a quantity of common pasture for the use of the lord, his vassals and tenants. A second territorial division was into Hundreds ; and a still larger was into Shires, afterward called Counties. Of these, some had been original kingdoms, others portions of such large divisions.

A regular succession of jurisdictions prevailed in these divisions. The Town had its *Mote* or court, commonly named the Hall-mote, as, being held in the lord's hall, his reeve or steward usually presided. This officer was the lord's representative on most occasions. He received all his tolls and dues, and superintended the Ceorles, who, however, had, it is said, the right of electing him to his office. The rights of the lord of a town extended to the levying of tolls and customs ; he had the power of imposing fines for bloodshed and other breaches of the peace ; and he might execute summarily the thief taken with the goods in his possession. In the Hall-mote we may discern the court-baron with civil, and the court-leet with criminal jurisdiction, of the present times ; and in the reeve the modern steward of the manor.

The Hundred also had its court, named the Hundred-mote or Folc-mote. It was held once a month, and was presided over by the Ealdorman, with whom sat the bishop of the diocese, and all the lords and

* This is Sir F. Palgrave's and Dr. Lingard's view. Mr. Allen regards it in a different light.

thanes whose lands lay within the bounds of the Hundred. Each town sent to it the reeve and four good men; and the parish priests also appear to have given their attendance. This court took cognizance of the crimes and misdemeanours committed within the Hundred; it tried civil actions; the contracts for the sale of lands were made and the money paid in it, in the presence of the Hundredors, in order that they might afterward bear witness, if required; and *land-bocs*, or grants and charters, were there read out and published.

The Shire-mote or county-court met twice a year. The bishop of the diocese and the ealdorman of the shire presided; all the landlords of the shire attended personally or by their reeves; and each town sent its reeve and four good and lawful men. The rights of the crown, of the church, and of private persons, were here discussed and determined; *land-bocs* were read out, as in the Hundred-mote, with which it had much in common; and the laws which had been enacted by the king in council were here published.

The Witena-gemot was the senate or great council of the realm. While the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms were independent states, each had, of course, its own Witen-gemot. That of Kent or Sussex could have differed but little from the Shire-mote of a later period, while those of Wessex and Mercia must have been of a higher order. When the whole island obeyed one monarch, the Witen-gemot rose into proportionate dignity. It sat thrice in each year: at the festivals of Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas. The king appeared seated on his throne, with the crown on his head and a sceptre in each hand, and surrounded by his officers of state. The bishops and abbots, accompanied by a certain number of their inferior clergy, sat nearest the king; and beneath them were the vassal Celtic and Cymric princes,* the ealdormen of shires, and the landholders of the kingdom. The

* The Welsh are called Cymry, the Scots and Manx were Celts.

inferior people were allowed to be present, but they had no influence on the deliberations. In this great council of the realm all laws were enacted, taxes imposed, grants made or confirmed, and state criminals tried. On the death of the king, the Witan chose the successor to the crown: their choice being, however, restricted to the royal line.

Of the crimes tried in these various courts, some were *botelos* or inextinguishable, and were to be punished with death: such were treason, murder, desertion in war, housebreaking, and open robbery. Other offences were punished by fine. In the case of homicide, every class in the state had its particular *were*, or price of blood. That of the *Ceorls* was 200 shillings, whence they were named *Twihændmen*; that of the *Eorls* or greater thanes, the *Twelfhændmen*, was 1200 shillings; the intermediate class of lesser thanes, apparently the ancient *Sithcundmen*, was 600 shillings, and they were therefore styled *Sixhændmen*. The *Ealdorman's were* was twice, the *Atheling's* thrice, the king's six times that of the *Eorl* or great thane.*

In another feature of Anglo-Saxon legislation, the same principle of rating men's worth according to their standing in society also appears: the oath of a king's thane in compurgation was equivalent to those of six *Ceorls*. The origin of compurgation was as follows:

The Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence, like that of every people in a low state of civilization, did not admit of circumstantial evidence. When, therefore, the positive evidence against the accused was not thought sufficient to put his guilt beyond doubt, he had two ways of establishing his innocence: the one was the *læda*, or purgation by oath, the other the *ordeal*, or appeal to the judgment of God. Previously to either, however, it was requisite that his lord should testify to his character on oath. If then he preferred the for-

* The principle of the *were*, as Palgrave justly observes, was precisely the same as that of *damages* in civil actions at the present day.

mer mode, he first made solemn oath himself of his innocence, and he then produced his *compurgators* or joint swearers, who swore that "they believed his oath to be upright and clean." These compurgators were required to be his neighbours, who knew or were intimate with him; and "true" men, or men on whose character there was no imputation. Their number varied according to place and circumstances; and the want of the lord's testimony, or its being unfavourable to the accused, always caused it to be increased. The modern practice of calling witnesses to character is compurgation under another form; and, in such cases, the respectability of the witness gives to his testimony its natural and proportionate superiority of value.

The Ordeal was of two kinds: by water and by fire. In case of this mode being preferred, the accused was committed to the charge of the clergy, with whom he spent three days in fasting and prayer; on the third day he received the sacrament, and again swore to his innocence; and he then proceeded to make the trial which was to prove it. If the ordeal was by water, a caldron full of water was set on a fire in a retired part of the church, and a stone or piece of iron was put into it; the depth of the water varying according to the presumptions for or against the accused. All strangers were excluded, and the accuser and the accused, each attended by twelve friends, stood by the caldron, in two opposite lines. Litanies having been recited, one from each line advanced and examined the water. If they agreed that it boiled and was of the proper depth, the accused advanced, plunged in his arm, and took out the stone or iron. The priest then wrapped a clean linen cloth about his arm, and put on it the seal of the church. On the third day it was opened; and if the arm then appeared to be healed, the accused was pronounced to be innocent; if not, he was punished as guilty. In the ordeal by fire, the process was nearly the same. Near the fire there was a small pillar, from which a space, equal in length to nine of the prisoner's feet,

was measured off, and divided by lines into three equal parts. When mass began, a piece of iron, of from one to three pounds' weight, was laid on the fire; and at the last collect it was taken off, and placed on the pillar. The accused then grasped it, made three steps on the three lines, and threw it down. His hand was then bound up, and all proceeded as in the other ordeal.*

The measure of police named Freeborh or Frankpledge was peculiar to the Anglo-Saxon constitution: but it is involved in much obscurity. It seems to have been of two kinds: the seignorial, by which the lord was held to be accountable for the conduct of his vassals, and was obliged to produce any of them against whom a charge was made; and the collective, by which the Ceorls in their *tithings* were *borhs* or security for each other. The tithing was of different extent in different places; but the smallest number of persons included in it was *ten*, whence its name. At the head of it was the Borhs-ealdor (corrupted to Borsholder). The members of a tithing were a kind of perpetual bail for each other, so that if one of them committed an offence, the rest were bound to produce him. If he fled, and the tithing could not clear themselves from the charge of conniving at his escape, they were compelled to make good the penalty, if his own goods did not suffice. The institution of tithings did not prevail throughout England; perhaps not to the north of the Trent. It does not seem to have been of much importance in the Anglo-Saxon times: but the Normans, probably regarding it as a good system of policy, and a means of retaining the people in their allegiance, attached more value to it. The View of Frankpledge, or inquiry into the state of the tithings, became, after the Conquest, a part of the business of

* It has been supposed that, in those times as at present, they were not ignorant of preparations that would protect the skin against the effects of fire. The modern reader, who looks upon this whole matter as but little better than sheer juggling, will be of the opinion that few indeed could have escaped unscathed from this ordeal without some such protection.—*Am. Ed.*

the court-leet. On this occasion the members of the tithing were always required to take the oath of allegiance.

It is a question how far the mode of trial by jury was known and practised by our Anglo-Saxon forefathers. There is certainly nothing to justify us in asserting, that anything at all resembling the modern practice, of twelve sworn men being *judges* of the evidence given before them, formed any part of the Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence. Yet the germe of this institution, like those of so many others, may be discerned in the remaining chronicles and records.*

Another question is, how far the peculiar usages of feudalism were in use among the Anglo-Saxons. At the conclusion of the following part we will enter more fully into the nature of this institution. For the present, we will only observe, that it was by no means so peculiar to the barbarian conquerors of the Western Empire as is usually supposed; its most important features, the relation of lord and vassal, and the granting of lands for service, being found in many distant regions. With respect to lordship and vassalage, the terms Thane and Knight, and many places of the laws and chronicles, give abundant proof of its existence among the Anglo-Saxons from the earliest times; and even the peculiarity of a *relief*, or fine paid on the death of the holder of a fief, occurs under the name of *heriot*;† it being a certain quantity of arms, money, horses; and in some cases hawks and hounds, given to the king, in order to preserve the estate to the family. We may therefore say, that though neither the name nor form of feudalism appears before the Conquest, the principle of it existed in Saxon England.‡

* See Hallam, Middle Ages, ii., 400.

† The *heriot* is not mentioned in any laws previous to those of Canute; but there is sufficient proof of its being in his time an ancient usage. See Lingard, i., p. 323.

‡ Hallam expresses the same opinion. He says, that among the Anglo-Saxons "we may perceive much of the intrinsic character of the feudal relation, though in a less mature and systematic shape than it assumed after the Norman conquest."—Hallam's Middle Ages, p. 332, Harpers' edition.—*Am. Ed.*

The prelates of the Anglo-Saxon church were appointed by the king, subject to the confirmation of the pope. If they committed offences, they were deprived and punished by sentence of the great council. The inferior clergy, when they committed crimes, were punished, like the laymen, by the secular tribunals. No claims of privilege or immunity were made or admitted. The lands of the church were also subject to the ordinary impositions for the public service. Ecclesiastical canons were made in the Witenagemots. At the same time, the clergy enjoyed a high degree of public consideration: the bishop ranked in all respects with the ealdorman or earl; a priest's oath was equivalent to those of one hundred and twenty Ceorles; and the Mass-thane or clergyman stood on a par with the World-thane or gentleman. In doctrine and observances, the Anglo-Saxon church agreed with that of Rome. As transubstantiation had not yet been established by the papal authority, it of course formed no part of the public system of the Anglo-Saxon church, whatever may have been the sentiments of some individuals among the clergy.

The revenue of the Anglo-Saxon kings was chiefly derived from the domains which they held in their own hands, being for the most part the portion of the spoil which fell to them at the time of the Conquest. Their tenants paid them rents in money or kind: they also received tribute from the inhabitants of the great towns, and in some cases from the subject princes. A part of the royal revenue arose from the fines imposed on criminals.

A threefold obligation (*trinoda necessitas*) lay on all the holders of land in the kingdom. This consisted of the *Bricgbote*, or tax for the repair of roads and bridges; the *Burhbote*, or that for maintaining the fortresses; and the *Fyrd*, i. e., militia, or general array of military service for the defence of the realm. The church was subject to these obligations equally with the other parts of the community: abbots, for example, having to furnish men for the *Fyrd* in proportion to the lands held by their monasteries. The tax named *Danegeld* was in like manner levied on all without exception.

From this sketch of their political condition, it is evident that the Anglo-Saxons were, properly speaking, a *free* people.* All classes had their rights, and could maintain them in the various courts of justice; the crown was confined to a certain line, and had its recognised rights; the aristocracy was strong, but without any oppressive privileges or unjust exemptions; and the clergy were subject to the civil power. In a word, rude as our ancestors were, they possessed, by a fortunate casualty probably rather than design, the framework of the actual British constitution, the progress of which will be shown in the following pages.

* The American reader, while claiming, perhaps, a common ancestry with the author, and equally anxious to think favourably of his Saxon forefathers, will probably, after reading the account here given of their institutions, have some misgivings as to their having been truly and properly a free people; at least, according to his notions of freedom. Still it is not to be denied, that the spirit of liberty, so characteristic of their race, existed among them; and the germes of those free institutions, which are now the boast and glory of their distant descendants.—*Am. Ed.*

ANGLO-NORMAN PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

WILLIAM I. (THE CONQUEROR).*

1066-1087.

Coronation of William; his Return to Normandy.—Conquest of the West and North of England.—Hereward.—Rebellion of Norman Nobles.—Dissensions in the Royal Family.—Fall of Bishop Odo.—War with the King of France.—Death and Funeral of the Conqueror; his Character.

THE Duke of Normandy, after his victory at Hastings, led his troops eastward along the coast, spoiling and ravaging on his way. As the people of Romney had attacked and defeated some Normans who had landed there, he burned the town and massacred the inhabitants. He then advanced to Dover, which town was likewise partly burned, and the castle forced to surrender. After a delay of eight days, on account of the dysentery which prevailed among his troops, he directed his march towards London. On his way he was met by a deputation of the Kentish men, offering to submit on his engaging to respect their liberties and rights.†

* Authorities: Saxon Chron., Malmesbury, Huntingdon, Westminster, Hoveden, Knighton, Brompton, Paris, Florence, Simeon, Alured, Ingulf, Mailros, Burton, Ordericus, Pictaviensis, Gemmatensis.

† The vanity of the monks of St. Augustine invented the following legend. Their abbot Egelsin united with Stigand in calling a meeting of the men of Kent, and impressing on them the necessity of defending their liberties and customs. They therefore assembled in arms under the primate and abbot, by whose directions every man bore a large branch of green wood, and they occupied all the passes. As the Normans advanced from Dover, they suddenly beheld themselves, as it were, enveloped by a moving forest, which every moment drew nearer. All at once the

VOL. I.—I

The Witan and the citizens of London had in the mean time placed the Atheling Edgar on the vacant throne; and, on account of his incapacity, the direction of affairs was committed to Stigand the primate, and the earls Edwin and Morcar: but disunion prevailed in their councils, and many of the higher clergy, it is said, swayed by the authority of the pope, or hoping advantage from it, were for submission to the Norman, who had now reached Southwark, which suburb he burned, after routing those who came out to oppose him. He then turned; and, having plundered Surrey, Sussex, Hants, and Berks, crossed the Thames at Wallingford, whence he moved to Berkhamstead. Bucks and Herts were now laid waste; the supplies were cut off from London; and Edwin and Morcar had retired home. Resistance seeming hopeless, Stigand and other deputies on the part of the clergy and people entered the camp of the Norman, and swore fealty to him. The following Christmas was appointed for the coronation. William meanwhile encamped a few miles from the city, till a fortress (the origin of the present Tower) should have been raised for his security. On the appointed day, December 25th, he proceeded to Westminster Abbey, where the ceremony was to be performed by the Archbishop of York (Stigand being under a sentence of suspension). A guard of Norman horse surrounded the abbey, in which the English were already assembled. William entered with his nobles; the ceremony began; the Bishop of Constance asked the Normans, in French, if they would have their duke crowned King of England; and a similar question was put to the English, in Saxon, by the prelate of York. Instantly a loud cry of assent arose from all parts of the edifice. The Normans outside fancying, or pretending to do

boughts fell, and horse and foot appeared in martial array, with banners raised, bows bent, and swords unsheathed. William, fearing the event of a conflict, acceded to their demands; and hostages were exchanged. See Thorn, p. 1786. *Pictaviensis*, who was present, says, "*Occurrunt ultro Cantuarii, jurant fidelitatem, dant obsides*"—The Kentish men voluntarily assembled, took the oath of allegiance, and gave hostages.

so, that the English were assailing those within, set fire to the neighbouring houses. Those who were in the church rushed out, the English to save their lives and property, the Normans to share in the plunder; and William was left alone with the archbishop and a few ecclesiastics of both nations. The trembling priests received from the monarch, whose terror nearly equalled their own, an oath to govern the English people as they had been governed by the best of their native kings.

William, who was henceforth named the Conqueror,* manifested a laudable anxiety to gain the affections of his new subjects. He granted new privileges to the citizens of London; put down the bands of robbers which now infested the country; protected travellers and merchants; was accessible to all; and even made an attempt to learn the English language. At Barking, whither he retired after his coronation, he was waited on by Edgar, Edwin, Morcar, Coxo, and a crowd of other nobles and thanes, who did him homage, and were confirmed in their estates and honours. He then made a progress through the neighbouring counties, to gain the people by his affability and courtesy.

To reward his followers, he confiscated the estates of those who had fought against him at Hastings, affecting to regard them as traitors. By these foreigners, who thus settled in England, numerous castles were erected to secure their possessions; and in each town the king raised a fortress, in which he placed a Norman garrison. These measures occupied his attention during the early part of the year 1067. In the month of March, in compliance with the desires of his Norman subjects, he prepared to revisit Normandy; and, having committed the direction of affairs in England to Odo, bishop of Bayeux, his maternal brother, and William Fitz-Osbern, he led such of his troops as were returning home to Pevensey, where, having distributed rich presents among them, he embarked, ta-

* *Conqueror*. It simply means *acquirer*. He claimed the crown by legal right.

king with him Edgar, Edwin, Morcar, Stigand, and other English of note, under the pretext of doing them honour, but, in reality, that they might serve as hostages for the obedience of the people. He was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy by his native subjects, who were amazed at the quantity of wealth he had acquired, and who gazed in surprise at the magnificence displayed by his English followers. To the monasteries which had put up prayers for his success he made costly offerings; and to the pope he sent the banner of Harold, and a large quantity of gold and silver.

While William was thus displaying his liberality in Normandy, those whom he had left behind in England were driving the people to desperation by their tyranny and oppression; and it was in vain that redress was sought from the regents, who gave no heed to their complaints. Resistance, therefore, began to be made in various parts; and the people of Kent invited over Eustace, count of Boulogne, to their aid, offering to put him in possession of Dover. He landed, and was joined by the neighbouring people; but, failing to take the castle by assault, he lost courage, and re-embarked his troops with some loss. In Hereford the English, under the command of a chief named Edric the Wild, and aided by the Welsh, drove the Normans out of the country. A general confederacy against the strangers was organized; the nobles who had submitted were secretly invited to put themselves at the head of it; and Coxo was actually assassinated for persisting in his fidelity to the Conqueror.

When intelligence of what was going on came to the ears of William, he returned to England without delay, although it was now midwinter. He kept Christmas at London, where he lavished his caresses on the English prelates and nobles who appeared at court; and issued a proclamation to the citizens, assuring them of his intentions to govern them according to their ancient laws, and to secure them in their property. Having thus soothed the people of London, he set out, in 1068, with his troops for Devon, where the people were in

arms, and prepared to lay siege to Exeter. As he was approaching, a deputation met him, offering to pay as tribute a sum equal to what they had paid their former kings, but declining to swear allegiance. He refused to listen to these terms, and his troops advanced to the assault, the English being placed in front : but, ere the attack was made, the magistrates came forth, sued for peace, and gave hostages. On their return, however, the citizens refused to ratify the peace, closed the gates, and prepared for defence. William then put out the eyes of one of the hostages in their view, and invested the town. The siege lasted eighteen days with great loss on the part of the besiegers : but at length the walls were undermined, and the city was forced to surrender. The whole of Devonshire and the adjoining British Cornwall were speedily reduced ; and, about the same time, Somerset and Gloucester were also subdued, and the land seized and divided.

Those who were dispossessed of their lands, and the lovers of liberty in general, gradually retired to the north, whither the Normans had not as yet penetrated. Edwin, Morcar, and other chiefs secretly repaired thither ; an alliance was formed with the Welsh and with Malcolm, king of Scotland (at whose court Edgar had taken refuge, and who afterward married his sister Margaret), and an extensive plan of resistance to the Normans was formed. It is said that in the conquered country a secret plan was projected for assassinating them (like the Danes in the time of Ethelred) on a festival, when they would be without arms : but it was discovered ; and those most deeply engaged in it had to seek safety in flight. William, resolving to strike the first blow, led his troops northward. He took Oxford by assault, massacred the inhabitants, and burned a great part of the town. Warwick, Leicester, Nottingham, and Derby shared the same fate ; Lincoln was forced to capitulate, and William then crossed the Humber. The English and their confederates gave him battle ; but they were routed and fled to York. That city also was taken by assault, and all in it massacred without dis-

tion; a fortress was erected there and strongly garrisoned, to keep the surrounding country in awe. It does not appear that the king marched farther north; for the Normans were grown weary of the service, and desirous of returning to their wives and families.

The next year, 1069, Edmund and Godwin, the sons of Harold, came with some ships from Ireland, and made descents in Somerset and Devon, where the people rose against the Normans; but their efforts were crushed by the troops (chiefly English) sent against them, and the sons of Harold were forced to retire. The people of Cheshire and the adjoining country also rose; but the king marched in person against them, and one battle terminated their hopes. Yet, though the English no longer made head in the field, their irregular bands did the Normans great mischief, and frequent ambuscades kept the enemy in terror. The governor of York wrote to the king to say, that, unless reinforced, he could not hold out. William hastened thither, and found the castle actually besieged. He speedily dispersed the assailants, and then commenced the erection of a second castle; and, being resolved to extend his dominion, he sent Robert de Comines or Cumin, with twelve hundred horsemen and a large number of footmen, to occupy the city of Durham. As Cumin approached that town, the bishop came to meet him, and warned him of his danger; but he treated the warning with contempt, and, having put some of the inhabitants to death, he took up his quarters in the bishop's house. In the night beacons flamed on all the adjacent heights, and at dawn the gates of the town were forced, and the English poured in and slaughtered the Normans. The bishop's house was set on fire, and Cumin and all in it perished. Troops were ordered from York and elsewhere to avenge this massacre; but the soldiers, on reaching Northallerton, refused to advance.

The people of the north and east of England ceased not to solicit their kinsmen of Denmark to come to their aid against the Normans. William, on his part,

sent his most adroit bishops, with rich presents, to Sweyn, king of Denmark, to induce him to remain at peace. But the Danish monarch, urged by his subjects, sent this year a fleet of two hundred and forty ships under his brother and his two sons, which entered the Humber in the autumn. The people rose to join them, Edgar, Edwin, Morcar, and the other exiles hastened from Scotland, and their united forces advanced joyfully and confidently to the attack of York. The townspeople aided the invaders: the castles were carried by assault, the garrisons slaughtered, the governors led prisoners to the Danish fleet, and the castles razed. The Danes then stationed their fleet for the winter in the Humber, Ouse, and Trent.

This invasion of the Danes, and the capture of York, caused William great concern. To secure the obedience of the English of the south, he restrained the insolence of his soldiers, and made some slight concessions; but he best succeeded in weakening his enemies by prevailing on the uncle of the Danish princes, by the promise of a large sum of money, to induce them to depart at the end of winter. He then, in 1070, set out for York, at the head of his best troops, and carried the city by assault. Edgar and the other chiefs fled to Scotland; the Normans spread over Northumberland, burning towns and villages, and slaughtering men and cattle alike; and from the Humber to the Tyne there did not remain an inhabited town or a field in cultivation: all was one desert, covered with ruins of towns, houses, and convents. The lands of St. John of Beverley alone escaped the general calamity. On the banks of the Tees, Waltheof and other chiefs entered the camp of the conqueror, and made their submissions anew; and Waltheof received the hand of his niece Judith, and the earldom of Huntingdon and Northampton. William then had the regalia brought to York, where he kept Christmas in great pomp. But, in the mean time, famine preyed on the wretched country, and more than one hundred thousand persons perished north of the Humber.

All England was now subdued under the Normans. The inferior people, in general, submitted to the yoke they could not avoid; the higher classes had partly fallen in the field, or by the sentence of military tribunals; some had fled to Scotland, and some to the north; a band of daring spirits, led by Siward, earl of Gloucester, went by sea to Constantinople, where the emperors had long kept a body-guard of Scandinavians, named Varangs (*Warriors*), and entered into this service; and others soon followed their example. Others retired to the woods at home, whence they issued and attacked the Normans on the highways, plundering those who had submitted to them. The chief seats of these outlaws, as they were named, were the isles of Ely and Thorney, in the fens of Cambridgeshire. Their Camp or Fort of Refuge, as it was called, was secured by defences of earth and wood; and Morcar, Aylwin bishop of Durham, and several other nobles and spiritual dignitaries, gradually repaired to it.

William now, in 1071, proceeded, in concert with the pope, who sent three legates for the purpose, to depose, under various pretexts, the principal Saxon prelates and abbots, and give their places to strangers. Stigand was deprived of Canterbury, and that see was given to Lanfranc, a Lombard by birth. Thomas, one of the king's chaplains, obtained that of York, the ancient claims of which to equality with Canterbury he was forced to resign; and Lanfranc was now styled the primate and father of all the churches in England. Many of these new dignitaries lived in a state of continued hostility with the clergy under them, whom they insulted, persecuted, robbed, and sometimes even murdered.*

There was at this time living in Flanders an Englishman named Hereward. Hearing from the exiles that his father was dead, his heritage given to a Norman, and his mother in great distress, he set out for

* For proofs and examples, see Ordericus (p. 523); History of John of Glastonbury (p. 158), and the Saxon Chronicle.

England; and, assembling a troop of his relations and vassals, he attacked and expelled the intruder. Necessity obliging him to maintain by force what he had seized by force, he was engaged in ceaseless conflicts with the Normans; and, as he was commonly victorious, his fame spread far and wide, and his deeds were the theme of the popular ballads. His lands lying at Brunn (now Bourne), near Croyland, his exploits were well known to those in the Camp of Refuge; and at their request, he went thither and took the chief command.

The efforts of Ivo de Taille-bois, an Angevin, to whom William had given lands in that neighbourhood, and of Turauld the Norman, abbot of Peterborough, to reduce the outlaws, proving fruitless, the king took the field in person against them. To reach their retreat, he found it necessary to construct a causeway three miles in length over the marshes. Hereward, by his sorties, so impeded the work, that the Normans fancied he was aided by the Evil One; and, to fight him at his own weapons, Taille-bois brought a sorceress and placed her in a wooden tower, in advance of the works, to perform her incantations. But Hereward made a sudden sally, set fire to the reeds, and burned the sorceress and most of the soldiers that were at work. At length treachery effected what force could not achieve. The monks of a convent in the Isle of Ely, weary of privation, sent to say to the king, that, if he would pledge himself to leave them their property, they would enable his troops to enter the isle unperceived. This offer was accepted; the camp was suddenly assailed, many were slain, and the rest were forced to surrender. Hereward and a few other brave men made their escape through the marshes; and he continued to be, as before, the terror of the Normans. At length, if we may trust the very dubious authority of a metrical history, a Saxon lady named Alftrud, who had large possessions, charmed with his valour, gave him her hand; and at her desire he made his peace with the king. But the Normans, who dreaded him, gave him

no rest ; and one day, as he was sleeping in the open air after his dinner, he was fallen upon by a troop of armed men. With only a short lance and his sword, he killed, says the rhymers, sixteen of the assailants before he fell.* It became a common saying, he adds, that if England had three more like him, it had never been conquered. The treacherous monks of Ely suffered (and no one can pity them) for their treason to their country. A party of Norman soldiers was quartered on them ; they had to pay one thousand marks ; their plate and ornaments were seized, and their lands made fiefs for the Normans. Morcar was sent a prisoner to the Continent, where he remained during the remainder of William's reign. When his brother Edwin heard of his captivity, he attempted to raise a force in the North : but he was betrayed by three of his followers ; and, his flight being impeded by a stream which was swollen by the influx of the tide, he was slain after a gallant defence. The traitors brought his head to the Conqueror, but their reward was perpetual banishment. Lucy, the sister of Edwin and Morcar, was given in marriage, with all their possessions, to Taille-bois, who exercised over his English vassals the utmost tyranny and oppression.

After the reduction of the outlaws of Ely, William led his troops northward. He entered Scotland, marched unopposed to the banks of the Tay, and Malcolm was forced to do him homage for his kingdom. Soon after, in 1073, William, with an army of English, passed over to the Continent, to take advantage of a dispute between the Count of Maine and his subjects. The mingled valour and ferocity of the English could not be withstood ; and the whole province submitted to William, who led his troops, laden with booty, back to Normandy.

* MS. poem of Gayomer, quoted by Thierry. Gayomer lived in the reign of Henry I. Ingulf simply says, that he made his peace with the king, ended his days in tranquillity, and was buried with his wife at Croyland. He also says, that Hereward's wife, named Thurfred, had returned with him from Flanders.

While William was absent in 1075, a rebellion, headed by Norman nobles, broke out in England. Roger, earl of Hereford, son of William Fitz-Osbern, had engaged his sister Emma to Raulf de Guader, a Breton, earl of Norfolk. The king, it is not known why, sent to forbid the match; but, heedless of the royal mandate, Roger conducted his sister to Norwich, and the wedding feast, to which Norman, Saxon, and Welsh nobles and prelates were invited, was held. When heated with wine, the guests gave a loose to their tongues against the king, abusing his birth, and declaiming against his avarice and his ingratitude. The two earls then proposed to Waltheof, who was of the party, to join in an insurrection against William, who, they said, would never return; adding, that then one of them should be king, and the other two rule under him. Waltheof, though he did not assent, promised secrecy. Bishops and barons, knights and warriors, swore to be faithful to the cause; and Roger went home without delay to make the needful preparations. The conspiracy, however, was easily crushed: Earl Roger was defeated and taken before he could pass the Severn, and Guader and his troops were routed by Bishop Odo and William de Warrenne. The victors cut off the right foot of all their prisoners. Guader fled to Brittany; while his bride defended the castle of Norwich till forced by famine to surrender. The estates of both the earls were confiscated, and Roger was condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

The fate of Waltheof was more severe. He had only been guilty of what is called misprision of treason; but his wife Judith had fixed her affections on another, and Ivo de Taille-bois and others coveted his lands. The royal council were divided in their sentiments, and the earl lay a prisoner at Winchester during an entire year. At length his enemies prevailed; sentence of death was passed; and early one morning, in 1076, while the people of Winchester were in their beds, lest they might attempt a rescue, he was led to an eminence without the town, and there

beheaded. By the English he was regarded as a martyr; and miracles, it was believed, were wrought at his tomb in the Abbey of Croyland. His faithless wife did not go unpunished. The king ordered her to marry a knight named Simon of Senlis; she refused, as Simon was lame and deformed; the king then gave Simon the eldest daughter, and the estates of Waltheof; and Judith passed the remainder of her days in poverty and contempt.

The last English earl was now gone; and William next proceeded to depose the last English prelate. Wulfstan of Worcester was summoned before a council at Westminster, and ordered by the king and Lanfranc to resign his staff and ring, because, as he could not speak French, he could not, it was alleged, discharge episcopal functions in England. Wulfstan, says the legend, stood up, walked to the tomb of King Edward, and said, "Edward, thou gavest me this pastoral staff; to thee, then, I commit it." Then turning round, he cried, "A better than thou gave it to me; pluck it away if thou canst." He struck it into the solid tomb, whence no one could extract it till the sentence was revoked; it then yielded to the touch of the Saxon prelate.*

Family dissensions now began to disturb the peace of the King of England. He had three sons: Robert, named Gamberon or Curthose, from the shortness of his legs; William, called Rufus or the Red, from his ruddy complexion; and Henry, for whom his love of letters gained the title of Beauclerc. Robert had the nominal government of Normandy, under his mother Matilda; and the Norman barons had been allowed to do him homage. When he grew up, he claimed to be put in possession of the duchy; but met with a flat refusal. An accident occurred to augment his discontent. The king, being at a place named L'Aigle with his three sons, in 1078, William and Henry, who were opposed to Robert, came to where he lodged; and, going into an upper room, began to play at dice, making

* This legend, we believe, occurs only in the fabler Brompton.

a great noise, and even poured water down on him as he was walking before the door. Robert, in a rage, drew his sword, and ran up stairs to slay them; the alarm was given; the king hastened to the spot, and with difficulty appeased the tumult. But that very night Robert set out with his partisans, and attempted to surprise the castle of Rouen. Some time after, in 1079, he fixed himself at the castle of Gerberoy, on the frontiers. The king came in person and besieged the castle; and one day, in a sortie, Robert wounded and unhorsed a knight. At the voice of the fallen man he recognised his father; when he instantly alighted, and helped him to his horse. The remonstrances of the prelates and barons, and the tears and entreaties of the queen, produced a new reconciliation: but soon after Robert went away again, and did not return during his father's lifetime.* He spent his time in rambling through France and Germany, making his complaints to princes and nobles, and soliciting aid: but all the money he got he squandered in folly and dissipation.

After the death of Waltheof, the king had sold the government of the country between the Tweed and Tyne to Walcher, bishop of Durham, a native of Lorraine, who exercised the most intolerable oppression over the people; and his officers, among other violent acts, put to death, in 1080, a Saxon named Liulf, who had retired to Durham when deprived of his property, and who was dear to his countrymen. The spirit of the people was roused, a secret conspiracy organized, and it was agreed that they should bring their arms concealed with them to the county court that was to be held at Goat's head (now Gateshead), on the banks of the Tyne. At the court they claimed reparation for the various acts of injustice that had been committed. The bishop demanded previously four hundred pounds of good money. The spokesman, retiring as if to confer with the rest, cried out to them in their own language, "Short rede, good

* Queen Matilda died in 1083.

rede, slea ye the bishophe!" They drew their weapons, and the bishop and one hundred of his followers were slain. The insurrection extended; but the Bishop of Bayeux marched with an army to the north, ravaged the country, pillaged the cathedral of Durham, and slaughtered and mutilated the people without any distinction.

This tyrannical prelate's fall was at hand. Inflated with his rank and wealth, he aspired to the papacy; he sent large sums of money to Rome, where he had purchased a house; and was proceeding thither himself in 1082, with a numerous train of barons and knights whom he had persuaded to accompany him, when the king, who had been informed of his plans, and who did not desire to see him on the papal throne, met him on the high sea, off the Isle of Wight, and brought him back to that island, where, before an assembly of the nobles, he accused him of various acts of oppression and treason. "Consider now," said he, "and say how I should act towards such a brother." All were silent. "Seize him, and confine him," then cried the king. None venturing to lay hands upon the prelate, the king himself seized him. "I am a clerk and a minister of the Lord," cried Odo. "I condemn not a clerk or a priest, but my count whom I set over my kingdom," replied the monarch. Odo was then sent a prisoner to a castle in Normandy.

The Northmen, who had so often deceived the hopes of the English, at length, in 1085, prepared to attempt their liberation from the yoke of the Normans; and Canute of Denmark, aided by Olave of Norway, and Robert, earl of Flanders, had collected a great fleet and army for the purpose. William assembled a large army to oppose them; he reimposed the Danegeld; he obliged the English to assume the Norman habit, that they might not be distinguishable; he laid waste the whole of the northeast coast; and he hired such a number of mercenaries on the Continent, "that," says the Saxon Chronicle, "men wondered how the land might feed them all." The ex-

pedition, however, never sailed; various causes, among which are enumerated the bribes of the King of England, detained it for more than a year, and at length a mutiny broke out in 1086, in which Canute was slain by his own soldiers, and the hopes of the English expired with him.

The following year, 1087, William quitted England, laden with the curses of the people. He stayed at Rouen, whence he carried on negotiations with the King of France relative to the territory of the Vexin; and, by the advice of his physicians, he took medicines and kept his bed, in order to reduce his excessive corpulence. One day the King of France said, joking, "By my faith, the King of England is a long time confined! There will be great doings at his churching." This being reported to William, he flew into a rage; and, swearing his most solemn oaths that when he got up he would light a thousand tapers* in France, he assembled his troops, entered the Vexin (August 10), and destroyed the standing corn, the vines, and fruit-trees. He also set the town of Mantes on fire; and as in his rage and impatience he galloped through the ruins, his horse chancing to tread on some hot embers, threw him forward on the pommel of the saddle. A dangerous rupture ensued; and he was conveyed to a monastery near Rouen, where he languished for six weeks. As he felt the approach of death, his conscience smote him; he sent money to rebuild the churches at Mantes, and to the convents and the poor of England; and, at the desire of his prelates and barons, he ordered the state prisoners, both English and Norman, to be set at liberty.† Aware of the turbulent character of his brother Odo, he long refused to include him; but he yielded at length to the

* Women, when being churched, used to bear a lighted taper in their hand.

† "These inadequate atonements for irrevocable crimes deserve mention," says Sir James Mackintosh, "only because they proclaim to the oppressor and the oppressed that there are moments when conscience will resume her authority, striking horror into the heart of the most fearless tyrant."—*Am. Ed.*

entreaties of his friends. He made his will, leaving Normandy to his son Robert, and England to William. "And, father," said Henry, "what will you give me?" "I give you five thousand pounds out of my treasure." "But of what use is it if I have no place of abode?" "Trust in God, my son; let thy elders precede thee; thy time will come after theirs."* Henry went off to receive the money, which he had accurately weighed, and got a strong chest to keep it in. William, by his father's directions, set out for England, and the king was left with only his servants.

At sunrise, on the 10th of September, the king was awakened by the ringing of a bell. On inquiry, he was told that it was for primes† at the church of St. Mary. He raised his hands, saying, "I commend myself to my Lady Mary, the holy mother of God, that by her prayers she may reconcile me to her son, my Lord Jesus Christ," and immediately expired. Instantly his physicians and other attendants mounted their horses, and went home in haste to protect their houses and property; the servants then pillaged the royal abode, carrying off arms, clothes, and everything of value; and the corpse lay for some hours nearly naked on the floor, for the people of the town were nearly beside themselves with terror of what might happen, now that the check of the royal authority was removed. At length some of the clergy, having recovered their senses, came with tapers and censers, and prayed for the soul of the departed. The Archbishop of Rouen directed that the corpse should be conveyed to Caen, to be interred in the church of St. Stephen, which the king had founded: but none would take the charge, till a knight named Herluin, moved by compassion, brought it thither at his own expense. The monks of St. Stephen's, and many of the clergy and laity, came forth to receive it; but a fire just then breaking out in the town, they all ran to extinguish it, leaving the monks alone.

* Lingard justly remarks, that "this prophecy was probably invented after Henry's accession to the throne."

† Early mass.

On the day of the burial, Prince Henry, the Norman prelates and abbots, and a great multitude of people, were assembled in the church; the mass was said, and the corpse was about to be lowered into the grave before the altar, when a voice from the crowd cried out: "Clerks and bishops, this ground is mine; it is the site of my father's house; the man you are praying for took it from me to build his church; on the part of God, I forbid the body of the despoiler to be covered with my mould." The speaker was Asselin Fitz-Arthur, to whom William had often denied justice. The bishops, finding his demand just, paid him sixty shillings for the grave, and promised him the full value of the rest of the land. The ceremony then proceeded; but the grave proving too narrow, as they tried to force down the body, which was in the royal robes and without a coffin, it burst, and was so offensive as to drive the assistants out of the church.

The Conqueror was doubtless a man of very great ability, superior to all the princes of his time. "He was," says the Saxon Chronicle, "a very wise man, and very rich, and more splendid and stronger than any of his predecessors were. He was mild to the good men that loved God [the clergy], and beyond all measure severe to the men that gainsayed his will. So stern was he and wrathful, that one durst not do anything against his will. In his time had men much distress and very many sorrows. Castles he let men build, and miserably swink the poor. The king was very stern, and took from his subjects many a mark of gold, and many hundred pounds of silver, that he took with right and with great unright from his people for little need. He was fallen into covetousness, and greediness he loved withal. He made great deer-parks, and therewith made laws that whoso killed a hart or a hind, that man should be blinded. He forbade (to touch) the harts, so also the boars; he loved the tall deer as if he were their father. He also set by the hares, and they must go free. His rich men mourned, and the poor men shuddered at it; but he was so stern that he recked not all their hatred; for

they must follow all the king's will, if they would live or have land, or even his peace."

In this character, drawn by a contemporary and one who lived at his court, we discern the imperious ruler, the man of mental energy sufficient to hold in check the haughty companions of his victories; and to this energy he united that vulpine artifice, for which the Normans were at that time noted all over Europe. In his person the Conqueror was of middle stature; his countenance was stern, his strength prodigious. He was religious after the fashion of the time; he heard mass daily; he founded churches and monasteries, and he treated the clergy with respect: but he steadily refused to do homage for his kingdom to Pope Gregory VII., and he asserted his royal supremacy over the clergy of England. In domestic life he was an affectionate husband and a sufficiently indulgent father.

The passion of this monarch for the chase was, as the chronicler says, inordinate. Not content with the sixty-eight royal forests, besides chases and parks in various parts, he laid waste a tract of thirty square leagues in Hampshire (burning villages, cottages, and churches, and expelling the inhabitants) to form the New Forest, as it still is called. To preserve the game in these forests, a particular code of laws, most iniquitous and oppressive in their provisions, was framed, and courts were instituted for carrying them into effect. No part of the royal despotism was so galling to the subjects of both races as these forest-laws, and they were a continued subject of complaint. From them are descended the modern game-laws; and the violators of them, the deer-stealers, were the predecessors of the modern poachers.

The great survey of the kingdom, contained in what is called the Domesday* book, was made in the latter part of the reign of the Conqueror. From it we learn

* Two derivations were given of this name: the one from *Doomsday*, the last judgment, which it was said to resemble in its certainty and authority; the other from the *Domus Dei*, as the treasury in which it was kept at Winchester was named. This latter seems to be the more probable origin.

the relative state of the landed property in his time and in that of the Confessor, and thus see how total the transfer had been from the hands of the English to those of the Normans.

A law of police, which directed all fires to be put out at the tolling of a bell, called the Curfew (*Couvre feu*, cover the fire) bell, is by later chroniclers ascribed to William, but without any countenance from the early writers.

The Norman conquest, as we have seen, caused great individual suffering in England: but as evil, no more than good, is never unmixed in this world, we naturally are led to inquire what were its advantages. These seem to have been, a more efficient police (in the days of the Conqueror, according to the chronicler, a girl laden with gold might have gone safely all over the kingdom);* security against invasions from Denmark, which were never renewed after his reign; more extended intercourse with the Continent, and thence a greater polish of manners; more magnificence in architecture, and greater learning in the clergy. We are, however, far from saying that all these combined (and some are only problematical benefits) at all compensated for the miseries inflicted by the conquest.

* Hallam, in mentioning this, says, that it was the result "of an imperious and vigilant despotism, the degree of which may be measured by their effects, in which no improvement of civilization had any share."—*Am. Ed.*

CHAPTER II.

WILLIAM II. (RUFUS).*

1087-1100.

War with Robert of Normandy.—The Crusade.—Primate Anselm.—Death of William; his Character.

WILLIAM's first care, on arriving in England, was to secure the fortresses of Dover, Hastings, and Pevensey, and to get possession of the royal treasure at Winchester. Lanfranc, who had educated and knighted him, as was then the usage, was naturally disposed in his favour; and he crowned him at Westminster, on the 26th of September, without hesitation. Robert, who was at Abbeville at the time of his father's death, took peaceable possession of his duchy, and the two brothers might have remained at unity but for the restless Bishop Odo and some of the leading Anglo-Norman nobles, who possessed estates in both countries, and who felt it to be their interest that they should be under one ruler. Deeming the easy, indolent character of the duke more for their purpose, and perhaps regarding his right to all the dominions of his father as clear, they declared in his favour, and retired to their castles until he should land with the army which, at the instigation of Odo, he was levying for the invasion of England.

William, thus deserted by the Normans, resolved to appeal to the English. He convened their leading men; and, making them many fair promises, particularly of a relaxation of the forest-laws, engaged them to declare in his favour; and with an army of Englishmen he besieged and took the castles of Pevensey and Rochester, which were held by Bishop Odo, and his brother the Earl of Mortaigne. He granted their

* Authorities same as the last, excepting Pictaviensis and Gemmatensis.

lives to his uncles and let them depart, but he confiscated their estates. He then detached the potent Earl of Shrewsbury from the confederacy; and as his fleet, manned by English, prevented the arrival of succours from Normandy, he speedily reduced the other barons; some of whom he pardoned, but most he attainted, dividing their lands among those Normans who had remained faithful to him. As for his promises to the English, he thought no longer of them; and the former oppression continued.

William at length, in 1091, felt himself strong enough to attempt the acquisition of Normandy, where the lax administration of Robert had caused much discontent. Having bribed the barons who held the fortresses of St. Vallery and Albemarle, to put them into his hands, he embarked with a large force and landed in Normandy. Robert, on his part, assembled troops; and matters were likely to come to extremities, when the principal men on each side interfered, and made them consent to an accommodation. Robert agreed to give his brother possession of Eu, and of the towns of Albemarle, Feschamp, and some others, on condition of his aiding him in the reduction of Maine, and restoring his partisans to their estates in England. It was farther agreed, that, on the death of either brother without issue, the survivor should succeed to all his dominions. According to the usage of the time, when the nobles were so powerful and independent, twelve of the greatest barons on each side swore to exert themselves to have this treaty carried into effect.

As Prince Henry, to whom Robert had sold the territory of the Cotentin for three thousand marks (£9600), was an object of suspicion and disquiet to both brothers, they joined their forces and besieged him in the fort of Mount St. Michael. Want of water had nearly obliged him to surrender, when Robert, hearing of his distress, gave him permission to supply himself, and even sent him wine for his table. When reproached by William for this ill-timed generosity, the duke replied: "What! should I let my

own brother die of thirst? Where shall we find another when he is gone?" The king himself, as he was riding one day alone to view the fortress, was fallen on by two of Henry's men and unhorsed. One of them was preparing to slay him; when he cried out, 'Hold, knave! I am the King of England.' The soldier dropped his sword, and raised him with every mark of respect. The king gave him a reward, and took him into his service. Henry was soon forced to capitulate; and he continued for some years to wander about, oftentimes in great distress.

While the king was in Normandy, Malcolm of Scotland again made an incursion into England. William hastened home, led his troops against him, and made him renew his homage. Two years after, 1093, Malcolm made another irruption into the north; but he was surprised and slain by a party of the troops of Earl Mowbray, and confusion prevailed for some years in the royal house of Scotland. William meanwhile kept his eye on Normandy, where he instigated the refractory barons to rebellion. In 1094 he went over to their aid. Having ordered a force of twenty thousand men to be levied in England, he marched to the coast as if to embark. But here the king's minister exacted ten shillings apiece from them, and dismissed them; and William employed the money so well, that he was in a fair way to become master of the duchy, when he was recalled by an irruption of the Welsh. This was succeeded, in 1095, by a conspiracy of Robert de Mowbray, Richard de Tunbridge, Roger de Lacy, and several other barons, to dethrone him; and to give the crown to his cousin Stephen, count of Albemarle. The king's celerity, however, disconcerted them. Mowbray was taken and cast into prison, where he languished for thirty years; and the others were punished in various ways.

It was now the season when the eloquence of Peter the Hermit and of the supreme pontiff was rousing the warriors of Europe to march in arms to Asia, and free the sepulchre of Christ from the thralldom of the rude fanatic Turks, who held the Holy City, and in-

sulted and abused the pious pilgrims of Christendom who resorted thither to perform their devotions. At the call of the Holy Father, thousands and tens of thousands placed a cross on their right shoulder, and pledged themselves to war against the enemies of Christ. Princes caught the infection equally with the inferior people: devotion inspired some, the love of adventure others, and there were those who pleased their imagination with the prospect of rich lordships and fair domains in the fertile regions of Asia.* Among the princes who assumed the cross, and than whom few were actuated by purer motives, was the gallant, generous, but imprudent Duke of Normandy. Being as usual without money, in order to obtain the means of appearing in a manner suitable to his rank, he agreed to transfer the duchy, during the term of five years, to the King of England, for the sum of ten thousand marks. William raised the money by extortion on all his subjects, the very convents being obliged to melt down their plate to supply him. Robert then, in 1096, set forth in gallant array with the martial pilgrims, and his brother took possession of his duchy.†

After the death of Lanfranc, in the year 1089, the king, urged by his profligate and rapacious minister Ralph, nicknamed Flambard (*Firebrand*), a Norman priest, held in his own hands the revenues of Canterbury and of such other sees as fell vacant, heedless of the remonstrances or complaints of the clergy; but a severe fit of illness in 1093 having terrified him, he made many fair promises of amendment of life and rule, and consented to fill up the vacant sees. The person selected for the primacy was Anselm, a native of Piedmont, at that time abbot of Bec in Normandy, and a man of great learning and piety. Anselm, it is said, fell on his knees, wept and implored the king not to require him to accept the dignity; and, when this

* The details of these romantic expeditions will be found in a work by the present author, named "The Crusaders," in 2 vols. sm. 8vo.

† See also James's History of Chivalry and the Crusades (Harpers' Family Library).

availed not, he clinched his right hand so fast that it was by main force that the pastoral staff was placed in it. But if Anselm was firm in refusing his high office, he was equally firm in maintaining its right against the crown. William, on his recovery, forgot all his good resolutions, and went on in his old course of tyranny and oppression : he sold spiritual dignities as before, and still held the revenues of the church, and among them a great part of those of Canterbury. This caused disputes between him and the primate. Another source of disunion was the schism in the papacy, there being now two rival popes, Urban and Clement ; and Anselm, who had already acknowledged the former, resolved to cause his authority to be recognised in England ; while William, like his father, would have no pope acknowledged there whom he had not himself received. Both king and primate were resolute : the former at length summoned a synod at Rockingham, in order to have Anselm deposed ; but, the bishops declaring themselves incompetent, he gave up the attempt ; and other motives afterward having induced him to acknowledge Urban, the contest thus ended. But when, in 1097, the king was about to make an inroad into Wales, and called on the primate to furnish his proportion of troops as he was bound, Anselm sent them in such bad condition as to be quite useless. The king threatened to prosecute him ; while the primate pleaded poverty, and demanded the restoration of his revenues. At length, not thinking himself safe in England, he asked and obtained permission to return to the Continent. He then repaired to Rome, where he was received with great respect by Urban, as a sufferer in the cause of the church : the king, in the mean time, seized on all the revenues of his see.

After enduring great hardships, and suffering a fearful diminution of their numbers by famine, disease, and the sword, the Crusaders at length, in 1099, saw themselves in possession of the tomb of their Lord. The news of their success stimulated those who had remained behind ; and William, duke of Guienne and earl of Poitiers, assembled a large body of pilgrims, to

lead them to the Holy Land. It would appear that he had proposed to mortgage, like the Duke of Normandy, his dominions to the King of England, now the wealthiest monarch in Europe : for William spoke of spending Christmas, in the year 1100, in Poitiers. But his end was now at hand. As he was at Winchester, on the 2d of August, having had unpleasant dreams the night before, and being told of the visions of a certain monk, which, though he affected to despise them, made an impression on his mind, he gave up the thoughts he had entertained of hunting that day. But, having eaten and drunk heartily at dinner, his spirits revived, and he rode out into the New Forest. His attendants dispersed in quest of the game ; in the evening, some colliers, passing through the forest, found the king lying dead, with an arrow stuck in his breast, and bleeding copiously. They laid the body on their cart and conveyed it to Winchester.*

It is doubtful how the king was slain. The common report was, that a French knight, Walter Tyrrell, having shot at a stag, his arrow glanced from a tree and hit the king ; and that Walter, seeing the unintentional crime he had committed, gave spurs to his horse, went to the coast, passed over to France, and joined a body of pilgrims for the Holy Land. But the Abbot Suger assures us, that Tyrrell had often after, when he had nothing to hope or fear from it, asserted on oath that he had not even seen the king that day in the forest. The fact of the king's death, therefore, alone is certain : the agent and the motive are alike unknown.

Such, then, was the end of the Red King in the twelfth year of his reign. As he had the misfortune to be on ill terms with the clergy, the dispensers of fame in those times, his character has been transmitted to us under the darkest colours. Making, however, all due allowances, we must still regard him as an odious, rapacious tyrant, yet as a man very richly endowed by nature, and capable of better things.

* The New Forest was fatal to the family of the Conqueror. It had already witnessed the death of his son Richard and his nephew William.

VOL. I.—L

CHAPTER III.

HENRY I. (BEAUCLERC) *

1100-1135.

The King's Marriage; his Contest with Duke Robert.—Fate of Robert.—William Fitz-Robert.—Death of Prince William; of Fitz-Robert; of the King.—Character of Henry.

PRINCE HENRY was also hunting in the New Forest when the death of his brother occurred. On learning that event, he hastened to Winchester to secure the royal treasure. William de Breteuil, who had charge of it, also hastened thither and opposed him, alleging the right of his elder brother to the crown and treasure.† But Henry drew his sword and threatened to slay him; and so many took the prince's part, that De Breteuil was forced to give way. Henry then proceeded without delay to London, and caused himself to be crowned, by the bishop of that see, on the third day after his brother's death, the 5th of August.

Aware that on the return of his elder brother he should have a struggle for his usurped crown, Henry resolved to secure, if possible, the affections of all classes of his subjects. He promised the clergy that he would not hold the temporalities of any vacant see; he engaged to his barons to mitigate all the feudal burdens; and he concluded his charter in these words, which applied to his English subjects particularly: "I restore to you the laws of King Edward, with my father's amendments." He invited Anselm, who was now at Lyons, to return and resume his dignities; and, on the prelate's arrival, he engaged him to act in a matter of some delicacy. Henry, as a means of securing the affections of his English subjects, wished

* Authorities same as before.

† See above, p. 117.

to espouse Matilda, daughter of Malcolm king of Scotland and of Margaret, "the good queen, King Edward's kinswoman, and of the right royal kin of England." But this lady, who was residing in the Abbey of Rumsey, over which her aunt presided, had taken the veil, though not the vows. A council of prelates and nobles was held at Lambeth, before which Matilda was examined by Anselm; and she declared that her only motive for assuming the veil had been to secure her honour from the brutal violence of the Norman nobles, against which the religious habit alone was a protection.* The council, aware that such had been a common practice with the English ladies since the Conquest, pronounced her free to marry; and Anselm joined her forthwith in matrimony with the king, and anointed and crowned her queen, to the great joy of the English nation, who looked on this as a return to their ancient line of princes.

As he expected, Henry had soon to contend for his crown. Robert, who had acquired great fame in the East, had left the Holy Land soon after the conquest of Jerusalem. On his way home through Apulia, he became enamoured of Sibylla, the lovely, virtuous, and prudent daughter of one of the Norman barons of that country. He sought and obtained her hand; and, detained by her charms and those of the climate, he lingered so long in Italy, that he did not reach Normandy till his brother had been a month dead. He took possession of his duchy without opposition, and then made preparations for asserting his right to the English crown. Many of the principal Norman nobles, such as Robert de Belesme earl of Shrewsbury, William de Warrenne earl of Surrey, Arnulf de Montgomery, Robert de Pontefract, Ivo de Grentmesnil,

* "I do not deny," said she, "that I have worn the veil: for when I was a child, my aunt Christina put a black cloth on my head to preserve me from outrage; and when I used to throw it off, she would torment me both with harsh blows and indecent reproaches. Sighing and trembling, I have worn it in her presence; but, as soon as I could get out of sight, I always threw it on the ground, and trampled it under my feet."—Eadmer, p. 57.

and others, sent, inviting him to come over, promising to join him with all their powers : for the same motives operated now as in the time of his contest with the late king ; and, moreover, justice was clearly on his side ; so much so, that the very seamen of the fleet, which was assembled to oppose his landing, carried a large part of it over to him. Robert embarked his troops, and landed at Portsmouth ; and his partisans repaired to his standard. Henry, who was supported by the primate, to whom he paid the greatest court, and by several puissant barons, also assembled a large force, and advanced to oppose the invader. The two armies lay opposite each other for some days ; their leaders fearing the result of a conflict. Anselm and the leading men then mediated a peace : Robert resigning his claim on England for an annual pension of three thousand marks (\$9600) ; each prince engaging to restore and pardon the adherents of the other ; and each being to succeed to the dominions of the other in case of his dying without issue. Robert then departed ; and Henry soon took occasion to prosecute the Earl of Shrewsbury and his other supporters under various pretences ; and when, in 1103, Robert ventured over to England to remonstrate against this breach of treaty, he ran some hazard of losing his own liberty. He found it necessary to resign his pension, of which, to save appearances, he made a present to the queen, who was his god-daughter.

But nothing less than the possession of Normandy would content the ambition of Henry. Affecting to view a breach of treaty in the conduct of Robert, who had taken the outlaw Belesme into his service, he landed with an army in Normandy in 1105. Several of the prelates and barons, probably secretly gained by him, besought him to take the government on him. "Your brother," said they, "is not our governor : his people have no protection from his power. He dissipates all his wealth in follies, and often fasts till noon for want of bread ; often he cannot leave his bed for want of clothes ; and when he is intoxicated, wan-

tons and buffoons strip him of his garments, and boast of their robbery." This may all have been true, and Robert may also, by his remissness, as was added, have suffered his barons to make war on each other, and inflict great misery on the country : yet it is difficult to believe that pity for the afflicted people was the motive which actuated the King of England, who, when Robert declined his modest proposal of resigning the government to him, commenced military operations. The first campaign produced no event of importance : but in the second, in an engagement before the castle of Tenchebrai, on the 28th of September, Robert was utterly defeated, and himself and some of his barons, four hundred knights, and ten thousand horse, were made captives, after an immense slaughter of his troops. All Normandy then submitted to Henry.

The fate of Robert, the only Norman prince who has a claim on our sympathy, was a hard one. His captivity at first was light : but, having attempted to make his escape, his eyes, it is said,* were put out by command of his unnatural brother, according to the barbarous practice of the age ; and, during a term of thirty years, he was transferred from castle to castle, and at length breathed his last in that of Cardiff, in the eightieth year of his age. His lovely wife, whose prudence might have averted his misfortunes, had died some years before the battle of Tenchebrai ; and his only son, William, a boy of five years of age, was taken at Falaise. When led before his uncle, he sobbed and cried for mercy. Henry made a sudden effort, as if to rid himself of evil thoughts, and directed him to be removed. He was committed to the care of a baron named Helie de St. Saen, who had married Rob-

* Westminster, Paris, Wikes. Malmesbury, who was a contemporary, says, " To the day of his death he was held in free custody by the laudable affection of his brother, suffering no evil but solitude, if that can be called solitude where there was great attention on the part of his keepers, and no want of amusements or of dainties." This writer, however, was the panegyrist of Henry. The king himself, in 1119, assured the pope that his brother was living in splendour, and had every amusement that he desired.

ert's natural daughter, by whom he was carefully nurtured.

Among the captives at Tenchebrai was Edgar Atheling, whom some slight similarity of character had attached to Robert's fortune. He was personally brave; but so mean were his talents, that Henry, like his father, could venture to assume the appearance of magnanimity towards him. He gave him his liberty and a small pension; and the last male of the line of Cerdic thus vanishes from history.

Henry soon began to repent of his liberality towards his nephew; and he sent, in 1108, a trusty messenger to the castle of Helie de St. Saen, to get possession of him. Helie was absent at the time; but his servants conveyed away the sleeping child, and placed him in safety; and Helie, on his return, abandoned his property, and went with his helpless charge from court to court. When William grew up, and displayed talents and virtues worthy of his race, he interested various princes in his favour. Louis le Gros, king of France, the feudal superior of Normandy, a brave and generous prince, aware of the danger of letting the King of England become too powerful, joined with the Counts of Anjou and Flanders in supporting the cause of William; and a petty, indecisive war was kept up for some years. Henry detached the Count of Anjou from the confederacy, by contracting his eldest son to the count's daughter; and the death of the Count of Flanders, who was slain in a skirmish near Eu, farther weakened the cause of young William. King Louis tried to engage the church in his favour, by taking him to a council at Rheims in 1119, over which Pope Calixtus II. personally presided; but the arts and the gifts of Henry easily overcame the just claims of his nephew, and shortly after a peace was concluded between him and the King of France.

But fortune soon offered another chance to young William. King Henry, when his eldest son, also named William, had attained his eighteenth year, took him over to Normandy in 1120, to have him recognised as his successor. On their return from the port

of Barfleur, the king's ship, having a fair wind, was soon out of sight; but that of the prince, having been detained by an accident, the sailors and their captain, Thomas Fitz-Stephen, got drunk, and when they set sail they ran the ship on a rock, where she foundered. The prince had got into the boat, and was now clear of the vessel and out of danger, when he heard the cries of the Countess of Perche, his natural sister. He made the seamen put back to save her; but when the boat approached the ship, such numbers crowded into it that it went down, and all perished. About a hundred and forty young noblemen were lost on this occasion; and the only person who escaped was a butcher of Rouen, who clung to the mast. Fitz-Stephen also grasped it; but, on being informed that the prince was lost, he said he would not survive, and let go his hold. The king, when assured of the calamity, fainted away, and never regained his cheerfulness.

The death of this prince was a misfortune to England, inasmuch as it gave occasion to the civil wars which ensued; but, had he survived, he would probably have been as great a tyrant as any of his race; for he often declared, that if ever he came to govern England, he would yoke the Saxons to the plough like oxen. Queen Matilda had died two years before her son, in 1118.

As the prince had left no issue, the king, who had no legitimate son remaining, resolved to marry again. His choice, in 1121, fell on Adelais or Alice, daughter of the Duke of Louvain, and niece of Pope Calixtus. But Adelais brought him no children; and young William, his nephew, having again gained the Count of Anjou to his side, was able to keep Normandy in a state of disturbance for some years. Henry, however, again, in 1127, detached the Earl of Anjou by a marriage. His only remaining legitimate child, a daughter named Matilda or Maud, had been married to the Emperor Henry V. She was now a widow; and he offered her hand to Geoffrey, the count's eldest son. The marriage took place, though contrary to the inclination of the empress, who regarded it as a

degradation: it was opposed also by several of the barons of England and Normandy. Matilda was recognised as heiress of all her father's dominions. The King of France still continued his support of William Fitz-Robert; and when Henry, by his influence with the church, had succeeded in having that prince divorced from the daughter of the Count of Anjou, on the plea of consanguinity, Louis gave him in marriage, in 1124, his queen's sister; and, on the death of the Earl of Flanders, who was assassinated in 1127, when at church, he invested him with that county. But William, doomed to be the sport of fortune, did not long enjoy his dignity. In consequence of his having taken severe vengeance on the murderers of his predecessor, a plot was laid by their friends and relatives to assassinate him when retiring from the apartments of his mistress late in the night. This woman, who was privy to the design, could not refrain from letting tears drop on his head while bathing it, according to the fashion of those times. William's suspicions were awakened: he urged her, and she at last told him the whole truth. He thus escaped this danger; but he shortly afterward, in 1128, died of a wound received in battle at Alost, against the Count of Alsatia.

Henry was now free from uneasiness: his daughter, the empress, gave birth to a son and heir in 1132; and two more sons born to her, seemed to render the succession secure. He made the nobility renew their oath of fealty to her and her eldest son, in a council held at Oxford. He spent the latter years of his reign chiefly in Normandy, to be near the empress, for whom he had a strong affection. An incursion of the Welsh having taken place in 1135, he was preparing to return to England, when, having eaten too heartily of lampreys, a food he was often cautioned against, he got a surfeit, and died on the 1st of December, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. His body was brought over to England, and interred at Reading.

Henry I. was a monarch of superior ability: the Conqueror alone, of his family, equalled him in talent. He showed great spirit in his dealings with the church,

and caused justice to be rigidly executed. "A good man was he, and mickle dread was there of him," says the Saxon Chronicle. "Peace made he for man and beast; whoso bare his burden of gold and silver, no man durst say to him aught but good." But he set at naught his charters and his promises, and he taxed his people without mercy; he increased the rigour of the forest-laws, and enlarged the forests; he punished him who killed a stag as him who murdered a man; he caused all the dogs near the forests to be mutilated; and men were even in some cases prohibited from hunting on their own lands: a great grievance in those days. Henry was more addicted to literature than was usual among princes and nobles at that time; whence he obtained the appellation of Beauclerc, or Fine-scholar. His treatment of his brother and nephew violated all the principles of nature and justice; but, when there has been uncontrolled power, and a kingdom is the prize, these principles have been set at naught in all ages of the world.

In the year 1109, Henry, as a check on the turbulent Welsh, settled at Haverford-west, in Pembrokeshire, a colony of Flemings. These men, who had been driven from their own country by an inundation of the Rhine, applied themselves to the culture of the soil and the manufacture of cloth; and they were always able to repel the efforts of the Welsh to dislodge them.

CHAPTER IV.

STEPHEN.*

1135—1154.

Usurpation of Stephen.—Miseries endured by the People.—War between Stephen and the Empress; between Stephen and young Henry.—Death of Stephen.

In a regularly-ordered state, the succession of Matilda would have followed as a matter of course, as no one else had even the shadow of a claim to the crown: but Henry himself had, by his usurpation, shown how a crown might be acquired without right; and there was one, whom perhaps he little suspected, ready to tread in his footsteps.

Adela, daughter of the Conqueror, had been married to the Count of Blois, to whom she bore a numerous offspring. Two of her sons had been invited over to England by King Henry; and he made one of them, Henry, who was in holy orders, Abbot of Glastonbury, and afterward Bishop of Winchester. For Stephen, the other, he obtained in marriage the daughter and heiress of the Count of Boulogne, who had also large estates in England; and he moreover conferred on him extensive domains in both England and Normandy. Stephen always affected great gratitude towards his uncle, and he had been forward in taking the oath of fealty to the empress in 1131.† By his valour, liberality, and affable manners, he had gained great fa-

* Authorities same as before, with the *Gesta Stephani*, *Contin. Flor.*, and *Gervasius*.

† On that occasion the King of Scots first took the oath of fealty in virtue of his rank. Stephen, and Robert of Gloucester, the king's natural son, contended for the second place. It may be, as Dr. Lingard says, that they both had designs on the throne: but the subsequent conduct of Robert contradicts this supposition.

your with both barons and people in England ; and the citizens of London were especially devoted to him.

On the death of his uncle, Stephen resolved to make a bold effort for the crown. He passed over to England, and hastened to London, where he was received with acclamations by the populace. His brother and the Bishop of Salisbury endeavoured to prevail on the primate to crown him ; and, to overcome that prelate's scruples, they produced Hugh Bigod, a servant of the late king, who made oath that, when on his deathbed, he had declared his intention of making the Count of Boulogne his heir. The primate was, or affected to be, convinced ; and he performed the ceremony of the coronation at Westminster on the 22d of December.

Stephen, imitating his predecessor, issued a charter exactly similar to his, with probably as little intention of observing it. He had farther, still following his uncle's example, lost no time in getting possession of the royal treasure of £100,000 (\$480,000) which lay at Winchester ; and, with this money, he took into his pay a large body of mercenary soldiers from the Continent, and procured a recognition of his title at Rome.

The Norman barons, moved by hereditary animosity to the Angevins, and also by the motives which had always made them desire the union of their duchy with England, readily submitted to Stephen ; while the King of France, Louis the Young, received the homage of his son Eustace for that province, and gave him his own sister in marriage. Geoffrey of Anjou was obliged to make a truce for two years with Stephen, on condition of being paid 5000 marks (\$16,000) a year during that period. Robert, earl of Gloucester, the natural brother of the empress, to whom he was much attached, was the person whom Stephen had most to dread. This nobleman would do him homage only on conditions which would give him a pretext for revolt whenever he pleased, and the king was obliged to consent. The clergy made similar reservations in their oaths ; the barons extorted the right of fortifying their castles ; and soon fortresses rose on all sides, filled with a brutal and ferocious sol-

diery. A contest for the crown commenced ere long between Stephen and Matilda ; and the miseries which ensued are thus vividly described by one who witnessed them.

“In this king’s time,” says the contemporary Saxon Chronicle, “was all dissension, and evil, and rapine ; for against him soon arose the rich (*i. e.*, great) men that were traitors ; when they found that he was a mild man, and soft, and good, and did no justice [execution], then did they do all wonders. They had done him homage and sworn oaths, but they held no truth ; they were all forsworn, and heeded not their troth ; for every rich man built his castles, and they held them against him, and they filled the land full of castles. They sorely oppressed the wretched men of the land with castle-works, and when the castles were made they filled them with devils and evil men ; then took they the men that they weened had any goods, both by night and by day, peasant men and women, and put them in prison for their gold and silver, and tortured them with tortures not to be told, for never were any martyrs so tortured as they were ; some they hung up by the feet, and smoked them with foul smoke ; some they hung by the thumbs or by the head, and hung coats of mail at their feet ; to some they put knotted strings round their head, and twisted them till it went to the brains ; they put them into dungeons where there were adders, and snakes, and toads, and killed them so ; some they put in the cruet-house, that is, in a chest that was short and narrow, and not deep, and put sharp stones in it, and forced the man in, and so broke all his limbs. In many of the castles were things loathly and grim, that were called *Sachenteges* [*culprits’ halters*], of which two or three men had enough to do to carry one that was so made, that is, fastened to a beam ; and they put a sharp iron about the man’s throat and neck, that he might on no side sit, or lie, or sleep, but bear all that iron. Many thousands did they kill with hunger. I cannot and may not tell all the wounds and all the pains that they gave to wretched men in this land, and that lasted

for the nineteen winters that Stephen was king, and still it was worse and worse. They laid guilds [taxes] evermore on the towns, and called it *tensexie*; when the wretched men had no more to give, they robbed and burned all the towns, that well thou mightest go a whole day's journey, and shouldest never find a man sitting [dwelling] in a town or land tilled. Then was corn dear, and flesh, and cheese, and butter, for there was none in the land. Wretched men died of hunger; some took to alms who were one time rich men; some fled out of the land; never yet was more wretchedness in the land, and never did heathen men worse than they did; for after a time they spared neither church nor churchyard,* but took all the goods that were therein, and then burned church and all together; neither did they spare bishop's land, nor abbot's, nor priest's, but robbed monks and clerks, and every man who was able another; if two or three men came riding to a town, all the township fled before them, weening that they were robbers. The bishops and learned men cursed them evermore, but naught thereof came on them, for they were all accursed, and forsworn, and abandoned. It was the sea men tilled; the earth bare no corn, for the land was all destroyed with such deeds, and they said openly that Christ slept and his saints. Such and more than we can say we tholed nineteen winters for our sins."

After this faithful picture, drawn by the hand of one who described what he beheld, of the horrors of feudalism and the misery caused by the usurpation of Stephen, it seems hardly necessary to go into details; we will, however, narrate succinctly the principal events of the contest for the crown.

In the first year of Stephen's reign, 1136, the Earl of Exeter took arms against him; and David, king of Scotland, invaded England in the cause of his niece the empress: but the earl was forced to submit, and the Scottish king agreed to an accommodation. In

* The churchyard, being consecrated, partook of the sanctity of the church; and people used to place their goods in it for security.

1138 David again invaded England. The ravages committed by his wild, ferocious followers are described as exceeding the usual limits of atrocity; and the Earl of Albemarle and the other barons of those parts, animated by Thurstan, the venerable archbishop of York, lost no time in collecting their troops to oppose them. The armies encountered at Northallerton on the 22d of August; and in the battle called that of the Standard, from a large crucifix on a wain used by the English as a standard, the Scots were totally defeated.

Earl Robert, having matured his plans in favour of his sister, pretended that Stephen had violated the conditions made with him, renounced his allegiance, and withdrew to the Continent in 1139. As Stephen had now embroiled himself also with the church, by forcing the bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln to deliver up the castles they had erected, Robert advised the empress to appear in England to head her party. She landed on the 14th of September, with him and one hundred and forty knights, in Sussex, was received by the queen dowager Adelais in her castle of Arundel, and thence proceeded to her brother's castle of Bristol. Geoffrey Talbot, William Mohun, Ralph Lovel, and several other barons, declared for her, and her cause gradually gained ground. Battles and skirmishes occurred in various parts through the following year; at length, on the 14th of February, 1141, Stephen and Earl Robert came to an engagement near Lincoln, and the king was defeated and led a captive to Gloucester, where he was treated with great rigour. The barons of Stephen's party all submitted; the Bishop of Winchester, who was invested with legatine authority, and had been on ill terms with his brother on account of the affair of the two bishops, was now induced to come to an agreement with Matilda; to gain the clergy more effectually, she consented to receive the crown from their hands; and in a synod summoned by the legate, at which the deputies of the Londoners* were the only laymen present, she was

* Fitzstephen, the biographer of Becket, says that in this reign

proclaimed Queen of England. Her authority was generally acknowledged, but tranquillity did not long remain. Besides the disadvantage of her sex, she was of a haughty, impetuous temper; she rejected in the most ungracious manner the petition of Stephen's queen and several of the nobility for his release, though they engaged that he should renounce the crown; also that of the legate, that his nephew Eustace might be allowed to retain his patrimonial estates; and that of the Londoners for the laws of King Edward.

The Londoners were grievously offended; and the legate, who had probably never been sincere in the cause of Matilda, fanning their wrath, they conspired to seize her. She fled to Oxford, and thence hastened to Winchester, with the intention of arresting the legate; but she was there herself besieged by the Londoners, Stephen's mercenaries, and the legate's vassals. Being hard pressed, she was obliged to attempt an escape, which she effected with difficulty; but her brother Robert was taken prisoner, and he was of so much importance to the cause, that her party were glad to give Stephen in exchange for him. The war was now renewed, and was carried on for some years with various success. In the severe winter of 1142, the empress was closely besieged by Stephen in the castle of Oxford. When her stock of provisions was exhausted, she dressed herself and three knights in white, as the ground was covered with snow; a sentinel, who had been bribed, conducted them through the enemy's posts; they crossed the Thames on the ice, proceeded to Abingdon on foot, and thence, having procured horses, rode to Wallingford. This escape was a matter of astonishment to her enemies, while her friends viewed it as little less than miraculous.

At length, in 1146, the death of her brother Robert the citizens of London were 20,000 horse and 60,000 foot. This supposes a population of upward of 300,000, which is utterly incredible. The population is computed by modern writers at less than 50,000.

and of some of her other friends, convinced the empress of the uncertainty of the event; and she withdrew to Normandy in 1147, to watch the progress of affairs. Her departure, however, brought little tranquillity to Stephen; for he soon alienated many of his partisans by requiring the surrender of their castles. The legatine power also had been transferred by the new pope Eugenius to the primate Theobald, the enemy of the late legate; and, moreover, the pope, as Stephen resisted one of his encroachments, had laid his party under an interdict.

There was, however, a cessation of hostilities for two years after the departure of the empress. In 1150 her son Henry, who had now reached his sixteenth year, being desirous of receiving knighthood from the King of Scotland, passed through England with a large retinue, and raised the hopes of his partisans. On his return, in 1151, after having spent some time in the Scottish court, his mother resigned Normandy to him; and, on the death of his father, he inherited Anjou. The following year, 1152, he greatly increased his power by a marriage with Eleanor of Guienne and Poitou. This princess had been married to the French king Louis the Young; she was the companion of his crusade to the Holy Land in 1148; and her conduct in the East had been so reprehensible, that Louis, on his return, yielding to the suggestions of delicacy rather than of prudence, had divorced her. The young Count of Anjou, less fastidious, immediately paid his addresses to her, and espoused her within six weeks after the divorce; and his dominions now extended from the confines of Flanders to the Pyrenees; while his superior lord Lewis did not rule over more than a tenth of France. Louis, incensed at this conduct of the Count of Anjou, aided Stephen's son Eustace to overrun Normandy: but Henry speedily drove them out of it; and then, as Stephen was now besieging Wallingford, which was held by his partisans, he passed over to their aid. To draw Stephen away, he laid siege to Malmesbury; and, having taken that town, marched to the relief of Wal-

lingford. The two armies lay in sight of each other, separated by the river Thames. Meantime the prelates and nobles on each side, weary of civil discord, proposed an accommodation; the Earl of Arundel boldly saying "that it was not reasonable to prolong the calamities of a whole kingdom on account of the ambition of two princes;" and Henry and Stephen, having conversed across a narrow part of the river, agreed to a truce for that purpose. Stephen's son Eustace, a turbulent youth, abused his father openly for concluding this truce; and, withdrawing from the camp with his followers, began to ravage Cambridge-shire. He fixed his abode at the stately abbey of Bury St. Edmund's; but he was seized with a fever as he sat at a banquet there, and died. This obstacle being removed, a council was held at Winchester in November, 1153, in which it was agreed that Stephen should retain the crown of England for his life, on condition of his adopting Henry, who was to be his successor; that Stephen's son William should inherit all his father had possessed before he usurped the crown; that the adherents on both sides should sustain no injury; and that all grants of the crown lands made by Stephen should be revoked, and all castles built by his permission demolished.

These terms being sworn to, Henry returned to Normandy. Stephen did not long retain his dignity: he died on the 25th of October, in the following year, after a boisterous and unquiet reign of nineteen years. He was a prince possessed of many noble and estimable qualities; and would have probably made an excellent king if he had acquired his crown in a legal manner.

CHAPTER V.

ANGLO-NORMAN CONSTITUTION.

Effects of the Conquest.—Feudal System.—State of the Church.
—Courts of Law.—Taxes.

HAVING thus brought the Anglo-Norman period of our history to its close, we will make a few remarks on the condition of the nation at this time.

An erroneous opinion has long prevailed, that the Norman Conquest swept, like a moral deluge, over the country, carrying away its ancient and venerable institutions, and leaving in their place such as had been hitherto unknown in England. We are told that the Conqueror had even formed a plan for fixing on the English nation the ultimate badge of conquest, by abolishing their native dialect, and forcing them to assume that of their masters; for which purpose he ordered that the French language should be taught in all the schools, employed in pleadings in the high court of justice, or *Curia Regis*, and used in laws and charters. The whole of this theory, however, rests only on authority of the most dubious character.* The Conqueror and his son Henry I. re-enacted, as we have seen, the laws of the Confessor; the English language (never the French) was employed by them in their charters; and, though the latter was probably much used in the *Curia Regis*, the members of which were mostly Normans, it was a matter of convenience rather than of obligation. Finally, the county and other courts continued in use, little altered.

The great changes introduced by the Norman Conquest were the almost total transfer of landed property; the change of the hierarchy in the church; the development of the feudal system; and the sep-

* Namely, that of Ingulf. See Palgrave.

aration of the ecclesiastical from the civil jurisdiction. Of these the first two have been already sufficiently noticed : we will therefore proceed to explain the last two.

The more inquiry into the Middle Ages advances, the more we recognise the influence of Rome, and the imitative habits of the tribes which overturned her empire. It was long the fashion to regard the feudal system as an original, regular plan, formed by the Barbarians for the preservation of the conquests they had made. More accurate inquiries make it probable that the system, in its main points, lay ready to their hands.

The colonists of ancient Rome were bound to military service when called on by the state ; and, in the latter days of the Republic, they were soldiers alone who were thus rewarded by their victorious general. The Emperor Alexander Severus extended this system, as the means of defending the frontiers of the empire. Lands were given to those who were named the Limitanean and Ripuarian soldiery, from their location on the marches or *limites*, and on the banks or *ripæ*, of the great frontier rivers ; and to their heirs, without the power of alienation, and on the express condition of military service. At a subsequent period, lands denominated *Lætici** were given, in the interior of the provinces, to large bodies of the Barbarians on similar conditions. We thus find the system of the tenure of land by military service completely formed ; and the other great characteristic of the feudal system, the personal relation of Lord and Vassal, may, perhaps, be as safely deduced from that of Patron and Client at Rome (its similarity to which has often been observed), as from the antecedent usages of the Celtic or German tribes.

All the elements of feudalism prevailed among the Anglo-Saxons ; but the peculiar circumstances in which the Normans were placed caused it to attain a more

* From the Germanic *Leod*, *leute*, people.

perfect form ; and the ingenuity of Norman lawyers drew such consequences from it, as made it a system of absolute slavery.

In the feudal system of England, the king was regarded as the original proprietor of all the lands in the kingdom ; those who held them were his vassals, and were obliged to swear *fealty*, that is, fidelity, to him, and to do him *homage*, or become his *men*. The vassal who was thus held by military service was bound to serve his lord in war, and to attend or do suit to his court in peace, in order to answer for any offences he might have himself committed, and to assist in the trial of others.

The lands of England were divided by the Conqueror into about sixty thousand feuds, fiefs, or knights' fees. He who held an entire fee was bound, in time of war, to serve for forty days at his own expense ; he who had half a one for twenty, and so on ; and the lord, who held several fees, furnished men in proportion. A vassal of the crown, or tenant *in capite*, or *in chief*, as he was called, might subenfeudate his lands, and have vassals bound to himself, as he was to his superior lord : but these were also regarded as vassals of the crown, and bound by allegiance.

The incidents of the Anglo-Norman feudalism were as follows :

Aids.—These were sums of money paid to ransom the lord if made a prisoner ; to supply the means of making his eldest son a knight, a ceremony attended with no little expense ; and to portion his eldest daughter.

Reliefs.—The relief was a composition paid by the heir, for permission to enter on the fief which had lapsed to the superior lord by the death of the last possessor.

Primer Seisin.—This was an increased relief, paid to the king by the heir of a tenant in chief, if of full age. It usually consisted of a year's profit of the lands.

Wardship.—If, at the death of a tenant, his heir was under the age of twenty-one, or his heiress under that

of fourteen, the lord became guardian in chivalry; and he had the custody of the person and lands, without being accountable for the profits, till the former attained the age of twenty-one, or the latter that of fourteen years. The heir *in capite*, on coming of age, was bound to take knighthood or pay a fine to the king.

Marriage.—During the minority, the lord had the power of disposing of his ward in matrimony, provided the match was not one of disparagement; and if the ward refused it, he or she forfeited the value of the marriage: that is, the sum that any one would have given for it to the guardian. If a male ward married without the consent of his guardian, he forfeited double the value of the marriage.

If a tenant in chief transferred his land, a fine for alienation was due to the king. If he died without heirs of his blood, or was attainted for treason or felony, the land reverted to the lord.

Such were the main features of feudalism in England; and when we consider the wardships and marriages (both peculiar to English feudalism), and the arbitrary nature of reliefs and aids, we may fairly look upon it as a system of slavery and oppression.*†

We are now to consider the condition of the church at this time; for which purpose we must sketch the vast project of sacerdotal dominion formed by the aspiring mind of Pope Gregory VII.

In consequence, chiefly, of the imbecile superstition of the kings of France, the episcopal order had made great advances towards the acquisition of a power

* The principle of the relief was certainly less unjust than that of the modern legacy-duty in England.

† "A feudal kingdom," says Mackintosh, "was a confederacy of a numerous body of lords, who lived in a state of war against each other, and of rapine against all mankind; in which the king, according to his ability and vigour, was either a cipher or a tyrant, and a great portion of the people were reduced to personal slavery." For a full and interesting account of the feudal system, its establishment, institutions, character, and effects, see Hallam's *Middle Ages*, p. 64 to 125, Harpers' edition.—*Am. Ed.*

similar to that of the ancient Druids. From the earliest times, in consequence of the rank of the city over which he presided, a kind of supremacy had been generally conceded to the Bishop of Rome; this notion of his superiority gradually extended, in consequence of the discontent of prelates, who appealed to him against their metropolitans; and he thus was imperceptibly drawing to *himself* the power acquired by the episcopal order. In the latter part of the eighth century, a work, purporting to be a collection of decrees of former pontiffs, appeared under the name of one Isidore. This forgery, as it has been long known to be, was calculated to extend the papal authority and diminish that of the metropolitans, by enjoining appeals to Rome; and forbidding to hold national councils without the permission of the pontiff. The bishops gladly acquiesced in them; and the papal power rapidly advanced. Its strength was also increased by the more rigorous imposition of celibacy on the clergy, and by the spreading of the rule of St. Benedict: points on which we have already touched.

Such was the state of the papacy, when the celebrated Hildebrand became its animating spirit. His daring mind conceived the project, not merely of freeing the church from all subordination to the temporal power, but of making it supreme over it. The subject of investitures, or the conferring of spiritual dignities by lay princes, was that with which he opened the contest, when, under the name of Gregory VII., he ascended the papal throne. From the earliest times, bishops had been elected by the clergy and people. The form still continued; but princes easily managed to have the real appointment; and in England we have seen the direct nomination by the crown. Gross simony of course prevailed: for what was valuable would be naturally the subject of bargain and sale; and the temporalities attached to the spiritual dignities were in most places considerable. These temporalities, mostly the grants of former kings, were regarded in the light of fiefs. The new bishop, there-

fore, was required to swear fealty, and to do homage to the lord who invested him, by the delivery of a ring and crosier. Gregory issued a decree against this practice; and thus commenced a contest with the Emperor Henry IV. which lasted throughout their lives, and was kept up by their successors for nearly half a century. It was terminated by a compromise with the Emperor Henry V., the monarch recognising the freedom of elections, and resigning the right of conferring the spiritual dignity (by the ring and crosier), but retaining that of delivering the temporalities by the sceptre. A similar arrangement was made with Henry I. of England, who had vigorously contested this point with the papacy, and its uncompromising advocate, Archbishop Anselm. Each party thus gave up something; but the real gain seems to have been on the side of the crown.*

In the disputes on this subject, we discern the influence of the doctrine of transubstantiation, which, ignorant and superstitious as the preceding ages had been, was not yet established by the pontifical authority. At the Council of Bari in 1096, it was declared to be abominable that pure hands, which could create God, and offer him up in sacrifice for the sins of the world, should (in the act of homage) be placed between hands polluted with rapine and bloodshed, and defiled by contact with the other sex. The abomination, however, was suffered to remain.†

To extend the papal power over the prelacy, it was decreed that no bishop should exercise his function till he had been confirmed by the Holy See. Bishops were cited to Rome on the most frivolous pretexts;

* This contest affords a proof that the popes and clergy were often actuated by a sense of justice and duty in the apparently most dubious cases. Paschal II. actually signed an agreement with Henry IV., by which the prelates were to resign all the lands, &c., they held in fief of the emperor, provided he gave up the right of investiture.

† The doctrine of transubstantiation, as held by the Romish Church, is, that the elements of bread and wine employed in the Eucharist or Lord's Supper, are miraculously changed into the real body and blood of Christ.—*Am. Ed.*

and archbishops were obliged by Gregory to go thither in person to receive their consecrated *pallium*, or robe. A farther hardship was the constant sending of special ministers, or legates *à latere*. Hitherto a metropolitan of the country (in England the Archbishop of Canterbury) had held a perpetual legatine authority, as the pope's lieutenant or representative; but now special legates were continually coming, who assumed high authority, held councils, deposed bishops, framed canons, and, at the same time, lived in great splendour at the expense of the prelates, whose pride was galled by the circumstance of the legate often being but a simple deacon.

To maintain their power, the popes had two most efficacious weapons: excommunication and interdict. The former had been originally nothing more than the power which every society has of expelling its own unruly members; but the See of Rome had gradually managed to invest it with terrors, and to use it as a weapon of offence and vengeance.* The excommunicate were anathematized with a fiendish minuteness of detail, in soul and body, in limbs and joints, in their goings out and comings in, in all times and in all places;† they were cut off from society like the leprous, any communication with them being declared morally infectious; and, when they died, the rites of sepulture were denied them. This sentence, however, only affected those who brought it on themselves by opposition to the papal power; while its interdict fell often upon the innocent. When a prince or noble had offended the Holy See, and the milder sentence did not prove efficacious, his dominions were laid under interdict: that is, religious offices were *interdicted* in them.

* "No direct temporal disadvantages," says Hallam, "attended this penalty for several ages; but, as it was the most serious of spiritual censures, and tended to exclude the object of it not only from a participation in religious rites, but, in a considerable degree, from the intercourse of Christian society, it was used sparingly, and upon the gravest occasions."—Hallam's *Middle Ages*, p. 275, Harpers' edition.—*Am. Ed.*

† See Southey, *Book of the Church*, i., 190, 191.

No service was performed in the churches ; no bells were tolled ; no sacraments administered, save the first and the last, baptism and extreme unction ; the dead were buried in silence ; and a moral gloom overspread the land. It was Gregory that first employed these spiritual weapons with effect. In the plenitude of his power, he dared to excommunicate the Emperor Henry, and even to issue against him a sentence of deposition from the throne, releasing thereby his subjects from their allegiance.

In England, the usurpations of the papal see were greatly forwarded by the separation, made in the time of the Conqueror, of the ecclesiastical from the civil jurisdiction. The clergy claimed now a total exemption from trial before lay-tribunals, however great their crimes might be ; and, as the ecclesiastical tribunals inflicted no higher penalty than stripes, sacerdotal murderers and robbers thus escaped the punishment justly due to their crimes. The struggle between the crown and the ecclesiastical power on this head is soon to occupy our attention.*

The county and other courts of the Saxon times, as we have seen, remained unaffected by the Conquest. The paramount tribunal was the King's Court, or *Curia Regis*, which attended the person of the monarch. It was composed of the justiciary,† the chancellor, the treasurer, the constable, and the other great officers, with any other barons who chose to at-

* Another circumstance which added greatly to the influence and power of the clergy during these ages of darkness, was their comparative intellectual superiority. Strange as it may appear at the present day, they were the only class in the community who could write, and what little knowledge in the sciences there then was, was confined to them ; so that the framing of the laws, and the political correspondence, were necessarily intrusted to their hands ; as was also, for the same reason, the education of the children of the nobles and of the royal family.—*Am. Ed.*

† This office was unknown to the Anglo-Saxon times. It originated in the necessity of the king's absence from the realm. The justiciary at such times acted as regent. He always presided in the King's Court

VOL. I.—N

tend, or whom the king might appoint. This court served to collect and manage the revenue, and to despatch public business. It also decided private suits when brought before it. As, in order to do so, it was requisite to pay a fine to the king, the royal court became a source of revenue, and the justice of the Anglo-Norman monarchs was also scandalously venal.

The Saxon ordeals also still remained in use ; and to these was now added a third kind, that of the duel, or wager of battle. The cause of these apparently absurd modes of eliciting justice seems to have been the disregard to truth and proneness to perjury so prevalent in those times, and perhaps the want of skill in cross-examining witnesses.

The revenues of the crown under the Anglo-Norman monarchs were enormous. We are told by a contemporary (but the account is utterly incredible), that those of the Conqueror amounted to £1060 a day.* They arose, 1st, From the immense demesnes which the king possessed in almost every county in England, which were let at the highest rates, and the rents of which were mostly paid in kind. 2d, The king claimed the right of imposing at pleasure taxes, named *tallages*,† on the inhabitants of the royal demesnes. He also levied tolls on the bridges, and at the fairs and markets, and customs on the import and export of goods at the seaports : thus, from a vessel whose cargo was wine, the royal officer demanded one hogshead from before, and another from behind the mast.‡ 3d, The fines and mulcts paid in the royal courts contributed largely to swell the annual amount of the revenue. 4th, Escheats and forfeitures (the natural consequences of such a turbulent, restless state of society) were continually occurring ; and the

* That is, pounds' weight of silver.

† That is, *cuttings* : our modern word *excise* is of similar signification.

‡ We shall meet this import frequently under the name of *tonnage* and *poundage* : the former being the duty on wine, the latter that on dry goods.

lands thus acquired usually went to augment the royal demesnes, or were granted away for pecuniary considerations. 5th, The reliefs, wardships, and marriages of his vassals were to the king a source of income; as he generally sold his rights of wardship and marriage to the best bidders.

The following examples will illustrate what has been stated. They occurred, it is true, under the Plantagenets; but the system was the same under both lines, and that family were certainly not more rapacious than the Conqueror and his sons.*

Simon de Montfort paid Henry III. 10,000 marks (\$32,000) for the wardship of Gilbert de Umfréville; and Geoffrey de Mandeville gave him 20,000 marks (\$64,000) that he might marry Isabel, countess of Gloucester. The county of Norfolk paid money that they might be fairly dealt with; and the town of Yarmouth, that the charters granted them might not be violated. One man paid for permission to defend himself in case he were accused of a certain homicide; another to have an inquest, to inquire whether those who accused him of robbery and theft did it out of envy and ill-will or not. Permission to trade was also matter of sale and purchase. Hugh Oisel paid 400 marks (\$1280) for liberty to trade in England; and the men of Worcester 100 shillings (\$24) to have the liberty of buying and selling dyed cloth as heretofore. The monarch's favour and displeasure were also venal. To obtain the favour of Henry II., one person paid nearly £1000 (\$4800), and another 1000 marks, for the remission of his anger. In like manner, the king's good offices were to be had for money or money's worth. Richard de Neville gave twenty palfreys, in order that the king might request Isolda Bisset to marry him; and Roger Fitz-Walter gave five for the king's letter to Roger Bertram's mother for the same purpose.

* These instances, with many more, will be found in Hume's Second Appendix, selected from Madox's History of the Exchequer.

6th. A sixth source of the royal revenue was the Jewry, or the body of the Jews residing in England. Of this extraordinary race, individuals had settled here in the Anglo-Saxon times; but their complete establishment took place after the Conquest. Their chief occupation was lending money, for which they exacted enormous interest. They were regarded as the king's property, and could only dwell in the royal boroughs, where they had a peculiar quarter, with a synagogue and a cemetery without the walls. In return for his protection, the king tallaged them at will; laid on them a capitation-tax, had fines, forfeitures, and reliefs, and even used, when adequately bribed, to forgive the money owed to Jews by their debtors.

The military force of the kingdom consisted chiefly of the holders of knights' fees. These and their esquires and followers served on horseback, clad in iron mail, and armed with swords, lances, battle-axes, or maces. They were termed the Men-at-arms.* The king levied infantry at will from among the inferior classes of the people. The service of a feudal army being limited to a period of forty days, it was nearly useless in the case of war in France. A practice was therefore commenced, in the reign of Henry I., of computing for personal service, by paying a certain sum of money for each knight's fee. This tax, which was named *Escuage* or *Scutage*, became fully established under the Plantagenets; and, with the produce of it and other taxes, the kings used to take into pay bodies of those mercenary soldiers who were so numerous in France and Flanders, on account of the constant state of public and private warfare which prevailed in those times.

* Our forefathers rendered the French *à*, with or for, by their own *at*. Thus we still say *secretary-at-war*.

HOUSE OF PLANTAGENET.

CHAPTER I.

HENRY II. (PLANTAGENET).*

1154-1189.

Dominions of Henry.—War of Toulouse.—History of Thomas à Becket—Contest between him and the King.—Murder of Becket.—Invasion of Ireland.—Wars between Henry and his Sons.—Death and Character of the King.—Changes in the Law of England.

ON the death of Stephen, the English nation, weary of civil contention, cheerfully acquiesced in the accession of Henry Plantagenet.† The new monarch, now only in his twenty-first year, exceeded all the princes of his time in extent of dominion. In right of his mother he ruled England, Normandy, and Maine; from his father he inherited Anjou and Touraine; while his union with Eleanor gave him the provinces thence to the Pyrenees, with Perigord, Limousin, and Auvergne. He thus possessed a third of France; and was a vassal far more powerful than the monarch to whom he owed his homage.

After a delay of six weeks, chiefly caused by inclement weather, Henry landed in England on the 3d of December; and shortly after, on the 19th, he and his queen were crowned at Winchester, with unwonted magnificence. His first care, after the festivities were over, was to reform the abuses which had arisen during the civil contests of the late reign. He

* Authorities: Paris, Westminster, Brompton, Hoveden, Knighton, Newbury, Hemingford, Wikes, Gervasius, Diceto, Trivet, and the biographers of Becket.

† The earls of Anjou were so named from their device: a sprig of broom (*plante de genêt*), whence Plantagenet.

obliged all Stephen's mercenaries to quit the kingdom, and with them their leader William of Ypres, whom that king had made Earl of Kent; he revoked all the grants made on either side during the late reign; he reformed the coin, which had been adulterated; he forced all those who had obtained possession of the royal castles to resign them; and he insisted on the demolition of those which had been erected by individual nobles.*

Having settled the affairs of England, Henry returned to France in 1156, to oppose his brother Geoffrey, who had set up a claim to Anjou and Maine, and had invaded these provinces. He forced him to resign his pretensions, and the apanage left him by his father, for an annual pension of £1000 (\$4800). The people of Nantes, in Brittany, who had just expelled their count Hoel, invited Geoffrey to be their ruler. He gave, of course, a ready consent; but he enjoyed his dignity only for two years. On his death, in 1158, the King of England claimed Nantes as his heir, and, moreover, as feudal superior of Brittany. Conan, the duke of that country, had already entered on it; but Henry, having gained King Louis to his side by a contract of marriage between his eldest son Henry, now five years of age, and the daughter of that monarch, who was yet in her cradle, soon ended the pretensions of the Breton prince; and Conan, to secure Henry's aid against his unruly subjects, affianced his daughter and only child, an infant, to Henry's third son, Geoffrey, also an infant. On the death of Conan in 1165, Henry, as guardian to his son and daughter-in-law, took possession of Brittany.

As soon as he had made good his claim to Nantes, the ambitious King of England cast his eyes on one of the largest and wealthiest provinces of France. Queen Eleanor's grandfather had married the only daughter of William, count of Toulouse; but William had mortgaged or sold his dominions to his brother Raymond, who, on his death, quietly took possession

* There had been one hundred and forty of them erected in the reign of Stephen.

of them, and they continued in his family, though the Duke of Guienne had asserted a claim in 1098, and Louis, in right of Eleanor, in 1145. These last pretensions were now advanced by Henry; and, forming an alliance with Berenger count of Barcelona, and Trincaval lord of Nismes, he prepared to assert them in 1159. Raymond of Toulouse, on the other hand, called on his superior lord, King Louis, to whose sister Constance he was married; and Louis, now fully aware of the dangerous ambition of the King of England, prepared to oppose the very claim he had himself advanced some years before. Henry, sensible of the unwieldy nature of a feudal militia, followed the example of his grandfather; and, in lieu of service, imposed a tax of £3 (\$14.40) on every knight's fee in England; and forty Angevin shillings on those of Normandy; and with the produce of this *scutage*, which amounted to £180,000 (\$864,000), he took large bodies of mercenaries into pay.

The war, however, was productive of no event of much importance. Henry was unable to make his claim good, and the pope finally mediated a peace between him and the King of France.

During the anarchy of the late reign, the clergy had gone on emancipating themselves from secular control. Holy orders were conferred by the bishops without discrimination; and, as all who had received the tonsure* were members of the sacerdotal body, and "the bishops," the historian says, "were more vigilant to defend the liberties and dignity of their order than to correct its faults, and thought they did their duty to God and the church if they protected the guilty clergy from public punishment," rapines, thefts, and homicides were frequently committed by these "tonsured demons," as they are styled by Becket's biographer. The king was assured that not less than one hundred homicides had been committed with impunity by the clergy since his accession. To this Henry was resolved to put a stop; and, knowing the

* Shaving of the head in the manner peculiar to the Romish clergy.—*Am. Ed.*

importance of having the primacy filled by a person from whom he would not have opposition to apprehend, on the death of Archbishop Theobald in 1161, he resolved to bestow the vacant dignity on his favourite and chancellor, Thomas à Becket.*

This extraordinary man was the son of a respectable citizen of London, named Gilbert à Becket. According to a romantic tradition, his mother was the daughter of a Saracen emir. Gilbert, it is said, being on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, had become a captive to the emir, by whom he was treated kindly and admitted to his society. The emir's daughter saw and loved him; and she made occasions of conversing with him, in which she learned his name, and that he was from London in England. She told him her love, and her desire to become a Christian. An opportunity for escape, however, having presented itself, Gilbert, heedless of the fair Saracen, embraced it and returned to England. She resolved to pursue him; and, quitting her father's abode in disguise, she proceeded to the coast. She knew but two English words, London and Gilbert. By pronouncing the former she found a ship bound for England; and, when she landed, by means of it she reached the capital. There she went about the streets crying out Gilbert. Her strange manner and garb drew a crowd after her; and, as she happened to go through the street in which Gilbert dwelt, the noise attracted the attention of his servant Richard, and he went out to see the cause of it. Richard, who had shared his master's captivity in the East, at once recognised the fair Saracen. He told his master: they brought her in, and then placed her in a nunnery, till Gilbert had consulted the prelates who were sitting at St. Paul's. It was their opinion that he should marry her, as she was desirous of becoming a Christian; and she was accordingly baptized by the name of Matilda, and made the wife of her beloved Gilbert.†

* For the history of Becket, see Stephanides (Fitz-Stephen) and his other biographers.

† This tale rests on the single authority of Brompton, that col-

The fruit of the union of Gilbert and Matilda was a son named Thomas. As the child showed talent, he was carefully educated at the schools of Merton, London, and finally Paris. When he grew up he was admitted into the family of the primate Theobald. He felt his inferiority to those whom he met there in learning; but the grace of his manners and his natural talents made up for the deficiency. Though twice, by the arts of his rivals, expelled from the palace, he contrived to reinstate himself in the favour of the primate, by whom he was even employed on a negotiation at Rome, which he executed with such ability as to be rewarded with some preferments in the church. With his patron's permission, he then went and attended lectures on the canon and civil law, first at Bologna, and afterward at Auxerre. On his return, the provostship of Beverley, and, soon after, the wealthy archdeaconry of Canterbury, were bestowed on him by the primate; and when Henry II. came to the throne, Becket, then thirty-seven years of age, was by Theobald's influence raised to the high office of chancellor. He speedily won the favour of the young monarch; the education of Prince Henry was confided to him; he was made warden of the Tower; and had the custody of the Castle of Berkhamstead and the honour of Eye, with the services of one hundred and forty knights.

Becket was of a vain, ostentatious temper; but his soul was superior to the love of money, and he spent his large revenues with princely magnificence. He kept a splendid table, which the king often honoured with his presence, and at which numerous noble guests sat each day. Numbers of knights entered his service, reserving their fealty to the king; and many barons sent their sons to serve him, as to the best school of chivalry. Becket hunted, hawked, and played at chess. His clothing was of the richest quality; his retinue was numerous and splendid. Though his style of living was thus unbecoming an lector and embellisher of romantic legends. *It may be true: but Becket's biographers seem to have known nothing of it*

ecclesiastic, still no charge has been made against his morals in private life.

Becket was sent to Paris in 1158, to settle some disputes between Henry and the French king, and to negotiate a marriage between their children. Nothing could exceed the pomp in which he travelled: the people, as he passed, cried, "What must the King of England be, when his chancellor travels in such state!"* In the war of Toulouse, Becket appeared at the head of seven hundred knights paid by himself. He was foremost in every enterprise; and when Louis threw himself into Toulouse, Becket was the man to urge an immediate assault, and to make light of Henry's scruples about attacking his superior lord. When the king retired, he left the chancellor in command; and the warlike churchman reduced three castles, and in single combat gallantly unhorsed a French knight.

Such was the man whom Henry had fixed on for the primacy; never doubting that the primate would be as compliant to his will as the chancellor had been. He had been hitherto so little of a churchman, that, when the king's intentions were made known, the empress, his mother, remonstrated, the people exclaimed, and the clergy expressed their grief and dismay at such an appointment.† Becket himself is said, when the king mentioned to him his intention, to have regarded his gay apparel with a smile; and, saying that he did not look very like an archbishop, to have told him plainly that this appointment would probably cause him to lose his favour. He is also said to have expressed the same apprehension to his friends in private. Still he did not, like Anselm, steadfastly decline the high office; and, as his smile might

* See Appendix (K).

† So the clergy of England assert in their letter to Becket. His reply is not satisfactory. If the empress, says he, dissuaded, it never came to the public ear; he heard the acclamation, not the exclamation of the people; only those of the clergy who were envious made any objection, and he appeals to the unanimity that prevailed at his election. (*Epist. Divi Thomæ*, lib. i., ep. 108, 126, 127.) Might not a great change have been wrought by royal influence in the course of thirteen months?

have appeared to belie the words that succeeded it, the king persisted; and, after the primacy had lain vacant for thirteen months, he passed over to England with the royal mandate in 1162, and having been previously ordained a priest, was consecrated at Canterbury by Henry bishop of Winchester, in the presence of Prince Henry and a numerous assemblage of the nobility and higher clergy.

The sudden change which now took place in Becket's mode of life, is ascribed by his friend and biographer to an immediate unction of the Holy Ghost at his consecration; many late writers see in it nothing but hypocrisy. To us the truth seems to be as follows. Becket was, as we have seen, covetous of fame, and of it alone. He had now attained an eminence which left nothing higher to aspire to; and, as versed in the canon law, he was probably a firm believer in the validity of the rights to which the church laid claim. These, in pursuit of the objects of worldly ambition, he had hitherto made light of; but now glory of a high order lay within his grasp. He had only to stand forward as the champion of the church, to forfeit his royal master's favour, to brave his enmity, and even to offer up his life in sacrifice for the rights of the church, and undying fame awaited him. And all this was Becket prepared to do. Though then we may admire his magnanimity and daring spirit, we must condemn the duplicity which made him take an office which he knew was given for a far different purpose. But on this, as on so many other occasions, the end was held to sanctify the means.

Nothing gives a spiritual leader more influence over the minds of the people than the appearance of extreme sanctity, and contempt of the world and its vain pleasures. With this, then, Becket resolved to begin. He dismissed his splendid train, and retrenched the luxury of his table. He who had vied with the gayest of the nobles in richness of apparel, now wore sackcloth next his skin; his food was of the coarsest kind; his drink, water in which the bitter herb fennel had been infused; his naked back was frequently sub-

jected to the discipline ; and he washed each day, on his bended knees in his cell, the feet of thirteen poor persons, whom he then dismissed with food and money. He was constant in reading the Scriptures, in prayer, and in ministering at the altar ; he walked in meditation, his face suffused with tears, in the cloister ; he visited and comforted the sick monks. When religious men came to visit him, he received them as if they were angels from Heaven.

By way of intimation, as it were, to the king to prepare for the contest, Becket sent in his resignation of the chancellorship, under the pretext that he felt himself hardly equal to the duties of one office, much less of two. This irritated the king ; and, when the primate came to meet him on his landing at Southampton, he received him coldly ; and soon after called on him to resign his archdeaconry also. Becket refused ; we know not on what grounds, though certainly we may say not out of avarice ; but he was obliged to yield. Shortly after he obtained the royal license to attend a council held at Tours by Pope Alexander III. He presented to the council a book of the life and miracles of Archbishop Anselm, for whom he solicited canonization ; thus intimating his purpose of treading in that prelate's footsteps. As Alexander did not wish to irritate Henry, he declined, for the present, to confer that honour.

One of the canons of this council was directed against all those who detained or usurped church property. This Becket, on his return, proceeded to put in force ; asserting that no time can avail against the rights of the church. He required the king to surrender the town and castle of Rochester ; Richard de Clare, one of the most powerful of the barons, was called on to resign the Castle of Tunbridge ; and other nobles, different possessions, which the primate maintained had originally belonged to his see. While the king and the nobility were in a ferment at this proceeding, the undaunted primate went a step farther, and asserted his right to present to all benefices within his diocese. A living falling vacant, of which one Will-

iam de Eynesford was patron, the primate presented to it: Eynesford expelled the clerk by force, and the primate excommunicated him. Henry, as he was a tenant in chief of the crown, required that the sentence should be withdrawn; Becket haughtily replied, that it was not for the king to dictate to him whom to absolve and whom to excommunicate. As, however, the law was explicit on the subject, he was finally obliged to give way.

The contest had thus gone on for nearly two years, when, in 1163, an atrocity committed by a person in orders set the king and the primate fully at issue.* This man, having deceived a young lady in Worcestershire, to conceal his guilt, murdered her father. The public indignation at this horrible deed was high; the king demanded that the clerk† should be given up, to be tried before the ordinary tribunal; but the primate, to save him, had him placed in the prison of the bishop. Henry then summoned the bishops to meet him at Westminster; and, after complaining of the corruption of their courts, by which he said they levied more money off the kingdom within the year than *he* did, required that the clerks in future, if found guilty of a crime before the bishop, should be degraded, and then handed over to the civil power. The prelates were disposed to assent, till Becket took them aside and engaged them to refuse, on the pretext of its not being just that a man should be tried twice for the same offence. The king demanded if they would obey the ancient customs of the realm; one assented, but the rest followed Becket in saying, "saving my order." Henry, who knew that this reservation would include whatever they pleased, left the hall in a rage; and the next day he deprived the primate of the custody of the royal castles, which he still held. For this Becket cared naught; but the other prelates were

* Becket's friend and biographer, Fitz-Stephen, expressly says, that this was the occasion of the breach between the king and primate. Dr. Lingard takes no notice of it whatever.

† This term was formerly employed to signify the clergy generally, of whatever order.—*Am. Ed.*

terrified, and counselled submission; in which they were joined by the pope's almoner, who alleged his instructions from the pontiff to that effect. The primate at length waited on the king at Woodstock, and promised to observe the customs of the realm, omitting the obnoxious clause. The king treated him with civility; and a great council was summoned to meet after Christmas at the Castle of Clarendon, near Salisbury.

When the council met, in 1164, the bishops were called on to fulfil their promise. Becket required that it should be made with the aforesaid reservation. His breach of faith incensed the king; he menaced him with exile, and even with death; two of the prelates with tears implored him to submit; the earls of Leicester and Cornwall assured him they had orders to employ force, and conjured him not to make it necessary; the master of the Temple and one of his knights fell on their knees, entreating him to have pity on the clergy; while the door of an adjoining room was thrown open, and armed men were seen with their clothes tucked up, and their swords and battle-axes ready for conflict. The primate was incapable of fear for himself; but he felt a generous anxiety for the safety of others, and he yielded. Those who best knew these customs were then required to put them in writing; and, at Becket's desire, the assembly was prorogued to the following day.

The Constitutions of Clarendon, as the customs now reduced to writing were named, were in number sixteen, of which the following are some of the most important: clerks, if accused of crimes, shall be tried in the civil courts; no churchman of any rank shall quit the realm without the king's permission; all causes not strictly ecclesiastical shall be tried in the king's courts; all prelates, and other spiritual dignitaries, who are the king's tenants *in capite*,* shall be subject to the feudal burdens, and attend in the king's

* Also called tenants *in chief*, as they held their lands *directly* of their liege lord, to whom they stipulated to pay certain dues, either in money or kind.—*Am. Ed.*

courts; the king shall hold all vacant sees, and receive their revenues till the vacancy is filled; the election shall take place in the king's presence, and the person elected shall do homage, and swear fealty to the king as his liege lord.

Three copies were made of the Constitutions, to which the prelates affixed their seals, according to usage, with the king and barons. The primate refused: but it is probable that in this case also his obstinacy gave way. He went home; and, as it were to punish his weakness in yielding, he abstained from the service of the altar for forty days. The pope, at his desire, gave him absolution for that sin, as he affected to regard it; at the same time counselling moderation. Soon after he went to Woodstock, and solicited an audience of the king; but Henry refused to see him. He then, like Anselm, attempted to escape to France; but the sailors of Romney would not expose themselves for him to the indignation of the king; and he was obliged to return. He now began to set the Constitutions openly at naught; and the king, on the other side, was stimulated to exertion by those about him, who looked forward to a confiscation of church property, and a share in the plunder.

The primate was cited to a great council at Nottingham. When he arrived, on the 13th of October, the king refused him the kiss of peace; a charge of high-treason was made against him; and his goods and chattels were declared forfeited. Though the composition in such cases in Kent was but forty shillings, a sum of £500 (\$2400) was required from him, for which he gave security. The next day he was called on for a sum of £300 (\$1440), which he had received as warden of the king's castles. He declared that the whole sum had been laid out in repairs; but added that that should be no cause of quarrel between him and the king. A farther demand was then made of £500, which Henry said he had lent him. Becket replied (as doubtless was the truth), that the money had been a gift: but his word was not allowed to balance the king's, and he gave security for that sum also. On

the third day he was required to account for all the moneys he had received when chancellor, and to pay the balance. He replied, that at his consecration he had been discharged of all demands by Prince Henry, and the justiciary in the king's name. He asked permission, however, to retire and consult with the other prelates. In these proceedings the king was plainly acting from a mean, paltry spirit of vengeance; and was seeking to crush the man who he saw preferred what he deemed his duty to the favour of his prince. The claim now made amounted to the enormous sum of 44,000 marks (\$141,000); and though in honour the primate stood discharged, he, by the advice of his brethren, offered 2000 (\$6400), which were of course refused. Some then advised him to resign the primacy; and Henry of Winchester alone encouraged him to resolution. As this was Saturday, he craved a respite till Monday to make his answer.

Strong as 'was the primate's mind, his body gave way under his mental agitation; and he fell so ill as not to be able to leave his bed on Monday morning. His resolution, too, almost failed; and he even had thoughts of going barefoot to the king, throwing himself at his feet, and praying him to be reconciled. But pride and a sense of duty came to his aid; and when some of the bishops came and recommended submission, he rebuked them in the severest terms. He had now taken his final resolution; and that was to brave the royal indignation to the uttermost. He rose, went into the church, and at the altar of St. Stephen performed the mass of that martyr's day, which begins with, "Princes sat and spake against me;" and he directed to be sung the verse of the Psalms, "The kings of the earth stand up, and the rulers take counsel together against the Lord and his anointed." Then, providing himself with a *host*,* to have in case of extremity, he moved on towards the council. At the door he took from his chaplain the silver cross he was

* The consecrated wafer used in the sacrifice of the mass in the Romish church.—*Am. Ed.*

bearing before him, and carried it himself. The bishops came forth to meet him, and remonstrated with him on this conduct; but he heeded them not; and entered the hall, from which the king had retired to an inner apartment with his nobles, and sat down, holding the cross before him. The king's rage at being thus braved became ungovernable; and the prelates trembled for their primate's life. They then asked and obtained the royal leave to appeal to Rome against him for his perjury. They went out; and, taxing him with his breach of faith, renounced their obedience to him, and cited him to answer their charges before the pope. The primate, who saw clearly the advantage he had now gained, calmly replied, "I hear what you say." They sat down on the opposite side of the hall; when the Earl of Leicester came out, and summoned him to come and hear the sentence passed on him by the temporal peers. He denied, with dignity and composure, their right to judge him; and cited both them and the prelates to appear before the pope. He rose to depart; when a cry of "perjured traitor!" met his ear. He looked round fiercely, and said with a loud voice, that, but for his holy orders, he would defend himself with arms against those who thus dared to insult him. He returned to the monastery where he abode, followed by the populace and the poorer clergy. He then sent to ask permission to leave the kingdom: the king took till the next day to consider of it; but in the night the primate quitted the abbey in disguise; and, having wandered about for some time, effected his escape to Flanders.

The King of France, a superstitious man, forgetting, in his jealousy of Henry, that his cause was the common cause of kings, took the part of Becket, and applied to the pope in his favour. The pontiff gave a cool reception to a splendid embassy which Henry sent to him at Sens, where he was residing; and, when Becket came thither, he received him with every mark of distinction. Henry then sequestered the revenues of the See of Canterbury; and, with the cruelty and injus-

tice common in that age, banished the kingdom all Becket's relations and domestics, to the number of nearly four hundred persons, making them swear that they would join without delay the primate, whom he thus hoped to reduce to poverty. But the pope frustrated his design, by absolving them from their oath, and distributing them in the convents of France and Flanders. The Cistercian Abbey of Pontigny was assigned as the residence of Becket, who now set no bounds to his spiritual insolence. He declared that "Christ was *in this case* again tried before a lay tribunal, and once more crucified in the person of his servant;" taking it for granted, according to the spiritual logic then usually employed, that his cause was the cause of God. At length, in 1166, he ventured, in the most solemn manner, to excommunicate all concerned in drawing up or supporting the Constitutions of Clarendon, and all who had laid or should lay hands on the goods of the church. Many persons were mentioned by name in this impious sentence, and threats of the same treatment were uttered against the king himself.

Henry, with all his vigour of character, was superstitious; and he feared while he hated Becket. He was also aware of the effect which the censures of the church might have on the minds of his people. He gave orders to watch the ports most strictly, that no letters of interdict might be brought in; and he threatened with the severest penalties those who should bring them or publish them. Meantime he prosecuted with vigour the appeal which he had been induced to make to Rome; his agents there employed effectually those golden arguments which, as one of Becket's friends writes, "Rome never despised;" and two cardinals were despatched to hear and determine the whole affair. Becket's arts and obstinacy, however, rendered their efforts ineffectual. At length, in 1169, when the petty warfare, which had continued for some years, between Henry and Louis, was terminated by a peace and the marriage of their children, this last monarch sought to reconcile Becket

and his sovereign. They met in the presence of Louis. Becket humbly knelt before his king; but, unyielding as ever, he persisted in saving his order when promising to obey the customs of the realm. Henry, in a rage, reproached him with his pride and ingratitude; then turning to Louis, "Mark, my liege," said he, "whatever displeases him he says is against the honour of God: but, that I may not be thought to act against that honour, I make him this offer. There have been many kings of England before me, some who had greater, some who had less power than I. There have been many archbishops of Canterbury before him, great and holy men. What the greatest and holiest of his predecessors did for the least of mine, let him do for me, and I shall be content." The whole assembly declared that he had condescended sufficiently. Louis asked Becket what he could say to this: he still persisted; and his friends then took him away by force. Louis treated him with neglect, and apparently was about to withdraw his protection; but his enmity to Henry, and his unmanly superstition, finally prevailed, and he fell at Becket's feet, and with tears implored his forgiveness. When Henry sent to complain of his still protecting him, he replied, with an appearance of magnanimity, "If the King of England will thus cling to what he calls the customs of his fathers respecting the church, he must let me adhere to those of mine, which ever were to protect the exile and the fugitive."

At length, in 1170, the contest was brought to a termination. It was agreed to pass over the chief subject of dispute; and Becket was to be restored to his see, to hold it as it had been held by his predecessors. But a new difficulty arose: the primate required, according to the custom of the age, to be saluted with the kiss of peace, while the king declared that he had bound himself by a vow never to kiss Becket. The pope sent Henry a dispensation; but he would not depart from his resolution. The difficulty was, however, at length got over, and the treaty concluded.

While the terror of excommunication was suspend-

ed over the head of Henry, and he knew not what its effect might be on the minds of his superstitious subjects, he had used the precaution of having his eldest son, Prince Henry, crowned by the Archbishop of York. Though it was done in secrecy, Becket heard of it; and he prevailed on the pope to suspend the archbishop, and to excommunicate the bishops who had assisted at it. On his arrival in England, where he was received with the utmost enthusiasm by the clergy and people, he proceeded to launch his spiritual thunder on those who had assisted at the coronation, or persecuted the exiled clergy; and seemed bent on renewing the war with the king. When this intelligence reached the ears of Henry, he was greatly moved at the prospect of a renewed contest. The Archbishop of York, who was now with him, told him the plain truth, that he could never hope to enjoy peace while Becket lived; and the king, strongly excited, cried out before all his court, "To what a miserable state am I reduced, when I cannot be at rest in my own realm by reason of one single priest! Is there no one to deliver me out of my troubles?" Four barons, named William de Tracy, Hugh de Moreville, Richard Brito, and Reginald Fitz-Urse, who heard these words, bound themselves by a secret oath to make the primate revoke his censures, or to carry him out of the kingdom, or put him to death. They secretly left the court; and, landing near Dover, went to the castle of Ranulf de Broc, a man whom the primate had just excommunicated, and who supplied them with soldiers. They entered Canterbury in small parties, and were received into the monastery by the abbot, who was on the king's side.

It was now the third day after Christmas. On that festival the primate himself had celebrated mass and preached to the people; and in his sermon he told them that his dissolution was at hand, and that, as one of their archbishops had been a martyr, there possibly might be another. He then thundered forth his invectives against the king's friends, and excommunicated De Broc and his brother by name.

On the day after their arrival (Wednesday, December 29th), the four barons, attended by twelve knights, entered the primate's bedchamber. It was after ten o'clock, and he had dined, and was conversing with his friends. They sat down on the ground opposite to him, and, after a pause, Fitz-Urse required him to absolve the prelates. He made an evasive reply; both parties grew warm; the barons desired him then to leave the kingdom; he replied with his wonted spirit; they left the room, ordering the monks to guard him; but he followed them to the outer door, telling them he valued not their threats. "We will do more than threaten," they replied. In the courtyard they then began to arm themselves. The primate's servants barred the gate, and his friends, not without difficulty, prevailed on him to retire through the cloisters into the cathedral, where vespers had now begun. He proceeded thither slowly, the silver cross being borne before him; and, when they would secure the doors, he forbade them, saying, "You ought not to make a castle of the church." He was ascending the steps of the choir, when the barons, who, after vainly assaying the palace-gate, had got in at a window and searched it all over, entered the cathedral. It was now dark, and he might probably have escaped if he would; but he aspired to the glory of martyrdom, and spurned at the thoughts of flight. They rushed forward, crying, "Where is Thomas à Becket? Where is that traitor to the king and kingdom?" No reply was made. In a louder tone they then cried, "Where is the archbishop?" He advanced, saying, "Here am I, not a traitor, but a priest, ready to suffer in the name of Him who redeemed me." They required him again to absolve the prelates, and again he refused. They told him then he must die; and Fitz-Urse, laying hold of his robe, bade him get out from thence or die. He said he would not move. "Fly, then," said Fitz-Urse. "Nor that either," replied the undaunted primate; "if it is my blood you want, I am ready to die, that the church may have peace: only, in the name of God, I forbid you to hurt any of

my people." One struck him with the flat of his sword between the shoulders, saying, "Fly! or you are dead." They attempted to drag him out; but he clung to one of the pillars. He nearly threw Tracy down, and flung Fitz-Urse off from him, calling him by an opprobrious name. Stung by the insult, the knight made a blow with his sword at him: Edward Grim, his cross-bearer, interposed his arm, which was nearly cut off, and Becket himself was wounded in the crown of the head as he was bent in prayer. "To God," said he, "to St. Mary and the Saints, the patrons of this church, and to St. Denis, I commend myself and the church's cause." A second blow brought him to the ground before St. Benedict's altar. He settled his robe about him, joined his hands in prayer, and expired beneath repeated blows. Brito clove his scull, and the sub-deacon Hugh of Horsea, justly named the Ill Clerk, with the impotent malignity of a savage, scattered the brains about with the point of his sword.

Thus perished, in the fifty-third year of his age, this extraordinary man, a martyr in the cause of the monstrous usurpations of the church; but actuated, we may charitably believe, under the delusions which then prevailed, by a sincere sense of duty.

The murderers of the archbishop retired to the castle of De Moreville, at Knaresborough in Yorkshire, not venturing to appear before the king. Nothing, in fact, could exceed Henry's consternation when he heard of the bloody deed. He saw an abyss yawning before him, as the feelings of justice, and compassion, and honest indignation would be on the side of the church. The King of France and other princes called on the pope to avenge the cause of religion. The embassy, headed by the Archbishop of Rouen, which Henry sent to Rome, found the pope highly incensed, and about to lay England under an interdict. But as Henry was really guiltless, and the pontiff deemed it wiser to husband his sacred power than to run the risk of seeing it exhausted, he contented himself with a general excommunication of the murder-

ers and their abettors. Two legates were sent to Normandy to examine the cause.

While Henry was thus seeking to appease the pontiff, some adventurers, his subjects, were extending his dominion, and gaining for him a nominal kingdom. The island of Ireland was inhabited by a portion of the Celtic race; but, as they had never been subdued by the Romans, they remained in their primitive barbarism. Christianity had been introduced among them in the fifth century by Patricius, a native of Britain; and the superstition characteristic of the Celtic race had led to the foundation of numerous monasteries, which offered some glimpses of culture and tranquillity, amid the incessant feuds which prevailed among the native tribes, and the endless succession of murders, abductions, and similar crimes, that were of daily occurrence. Even in the twelfth century, the native Irish seem not to have been greatly advanced beyond the Britons in the days of Cæsar. They lived chiefly on the milk and flesh of their cattle, and had little tillage and few arts. The Northmen had invaded and ravaged this island as they had England and France; but with this difference, that they were here the superiors in knowledge and culture: they had also founded towns along the coast, and all the trade of the island was in their hands.

Henry II. had long cast an eye of cupidity on this fertile island. In the very commencement of his reign, 1156, when Adrian IV. (Breakspear), an Englishman by birth, occupied the papal throne, he obtained a bull, authorizing him to invade and reduce that island. For, as the Irish had been converted before the see of Rome had put forth her monstrous pretensions, and Ireland was in a great measure separate from the world, the Irish clergy followed the simpler doctrines of their first teachers, and did not acknowledge subjection to Rome. Adrian therefore, assuming that all islands on which Gospel light had shone belonged to Christ's vicerent on earth, in the plenitude of his power authorized and exhorted the king to invade Ireland, destroy the vice and wickedness of

the natives, and oblige them to pay a penny yearly from each house to the see of Rome. The Irish were commanded to submit; the enterprise being for the glory of God, and the salvation of the souls of men.

Henry thus sought to gratify an unjust and grasping ambition, by sanctioning a claim against which he was, in his own case, so soon to contend with all his energy. Various matters, however, prevented him for some years from taking advantage of the pontiff's generosity. At length a feud among the natives themselves called his attention towards Ireland. Besides their minor division into septs or clans, the Irish nation formed five kingdoms: Desmond, Thomond, Connaught, Ulster, and Leinster; and of the five sovereigns one was usually lord paramount of the whole. The supremacy lay now with Connaught. Dermot MacMorrough, king of Leinster, was in love with the wife of O'Ruark, chief of Breffney (now Leitrim and Sligo); and, taking advantage of her husband's absence, he carried her off from an island in a bog, where she had been placed for security. O'Ruark complained to Roderic O'Connor, the lord paramount. Their united forces invaded Leinster; and Dermot, who was hated by his subjects, was forced to seek safety in flight. He repaired to King Henry, who was at that time, 1167, in Guienne; and offered to hold his kingdom in vassalage of him, if restored by his arms. Henry accepted the offer; but, as the state of his affairs did not allow him then to engage in the enterprise, he gave Dermot letters patent to his English subjects, authorizing them to assist him.* The Irish prince came to Bristol; and soon after made an agreement with Richard de Clare, surnamed Strongbow, earl of Strigul or Pembroke, a man who, having impaired his fortune, was ready for any desperate adventure. Strongbow, for his aid, was to have the hand of Dermot's daughter Eva, and to be declared heir to his dominions. Dermot also engaged two other ruined knights of South Wales:

* The conquest of Ireland is related by Giraldus (Barry) Cambrensis.

Robert Fitz-Stephen and Maurice Fitz-Gerald. He then returned to Ireland, and lay concealed in the monastery of Ferns, of which he was the founder.

In the spring of 1169, Fitz-Stephen, who was first ready, set sail with a small force of thirty knights, sixty esquires, and three hundred archers, and landed at Bannow, not far from the town of Wexford. He was followed by Maurice Prendergast, with ten knights and sixty archers; and with this small force they ventured to march against Wexford, which was surrendered to them by the Ostmen,* who inhabited it. Fitz-Gerald next arrived, with ten knights, thirty esquires, and a hundred archers; and such was the advantage their superior arms and military skill gave the invaders, that no force the Irish could bring together was able to resist them. Dermot, not satisfied with recovering his own kingdom, aspired to extend his odious sway. He sent a messenger urging Strongbow to make haste and perform his promise; and the earl, having obtained a reluctant consent from Henry, to whom he repaired in Normandy, quickened his preparations. He first sent over Raymond le Gros, with ten knights and seventy archers; and this petty force, we are assured, defeated a body of three thousand Irish, who came to oppose them when they landed near Waterford. Strongbow himself now came, with two hundred knights and esquires, and a good body of archers. Waterford surrendered, and Dublin was taken. Strongbow married the Irish princess; and Dermot dying shortly after, he became sovereign of Leinster, and aimed at the conquest of the whole island. Roderic, a weak, inert prince, was roused at last; and, with thirty thousand men, came and laid siege to Dublin; but Strongbow made a sally, at the head of but ninety knights and their followers, and routed this tumultuous rabble with great slaughter.

The news of the extraordinary success of these adventurers was by no means agreeable to King Henry, who feared they might cease to conduct themselves

* That is, Eastmen, as the Northmen called themselves in Ireland.

as subjects. He sent orders for them to return, forbade any supplies to be sent to them, and finally resolved to pass over himself to Ireland. He sailed from Milford in 1172, with a fleet of four hundred sail, and landed near Waterford. All the Irish princes, except Roderic and a few others, repaired to him, and acknowledged themselves his vassals. He proceeded thence to Dublin, where he held a great council, at which the Irish princes attended, for regulating the state; and soon after the clergy met in synod at Cashel, to reduce the church to due order. Henry kept Christmas in Dublin; at which festival he entertained the Irish kings and chiefs in a palace of wicker-work, framed by the skill of the natives; and the following Easter, in 1173, he returned to England, leaving Hugh de Lacy justice of Ireland. Strongbow, though deprived of his kingdom, retained great possessions; and the conquerors dwelt intermixed with the Irish through Leinster, and gradually extended themselves into the remainder of the island. The two races, separated by origin, language, and manners, never coalesced. Ireland continued, as before, to be the theatre of anarchy and bloodshed. The injustice of conquest, and the evils it produces, were not here, as in other cases, compensated by increased civilization: for the English settlers degenerated, while the Irish remained nearly stationary. The scanty annals of the following three centuries in Ireland offer one black tissue of ferocity, vice, and crime, with hardly a gleam of virtue and humanity to break the gloom. The earnest entreaties of the native Irish for the benefits of English law were constantly rejected through the influence of their Anglo-Irish countrymen, who found it more easy to plunder and oppress them while they were separate in law and in language. Ireland (politically speaking) should either not have been invaded, or it should have been conquered as England had been by the Saxons and Normans.

The fame which Henry gained by this nominal conquest of Ireland, enabled him to treat on advantageous terms with the pope. In the month of September he

met the papal legates at Avranches; and, having made a solemn oath that he had neither commanded nor desired the death of the archbishop, and promised to allow that prelate's friends to return, and to restore the possessions of the see, to acknowledge Alexander and permit appeals to Rome, he received absolution, and was confirmed in the grant of Ireland.* Becket's zeal was rewarded by the pontiff with canonization as a martyr; numerous miracles (the number stated is two hundred and seventy) were said to have taken place at his tomb, to which vast crowds of pilgrims resorted every year; and rich offerings were made at it. Becket's murderers, being only liable to the censure of the church (as the clergy, by refusing to submit to the civil law, had forfeited its protection), remained some time at Knaresborough unmolested. At length, finding themselves generally shunned as excommunicated persons, they went to Rome, to implore the pontiff's forgiveness. He enjoined them, as a penance, to visit the Holy Land; and they died while there, and were buried at the gate of the Temple.

Henry, now the most powerful monarch of his time, having ended his contest with the church, looked forward to the enjoyment of peace and tranquillity in future. But the King of France, always jealous of him, sought to raise up enmity against him in his own family. Henry had by his queen Eleanor four sons: Henry, whom he had caused to be crowned as his associate in the throne, and for whom he intended England, Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine; Richard, who was to have Poitou and Guienne; Geoffrey, who would have Brittany in right of his wife; and John, named by the courtiers Lackland (*Sansterre*), but for whom he destined the lordship of Ireland. Prince Henry, excited by his father-in-law King Louis, now insisted on his father's resigning either England or Normandy to him; and, on the king's refusal, fled

* It would also appear, that, by a secret article, Henry engaged to hold England of the pope as his superior lord. See Lingard, ii., 264, *note*.

to Paris. Queen Eleanor, whose own frailties had not made her indulgent to those of others, offended by the repeated infidelities of the king, stirred up her sons Richard and Geoffrey to make demands similar to that of their brother; and persuaded them, when denied, to fly also to the court of France. Eleanor herself also absconded; but she fell, soon after, into the hands of her husband, by whom she was kept confined for the remainder of his reign. Kings and princes were not ashamed to aid these three undutiful boys* against their indulgent parent. An extensive confederacy was formed: William the Lion, king of Scotland, was induced to join by the promise of Northumberland, the Earl of Flanders by that of Kent, and the Earls of Blois and Boulogne were to have rewards of the same kind. Many of Henry's continental barons, weary of the strictness of his government, declared for the young princes their future rulers. Even in England, the earls of Leicester and Chester openly took arms against their sovereign. A simultaneous invasion of his dominions was proposed by the confederates.

Henry first applied to the pope, who readily excommunicated his enemies for him. But this spiritual weapon proving of little avail, he took into his pay a body of twenty thousand Brabançons, with whom and with his faithful subjects he prepared to make head against his enemies. The earls of Flanders and Boulogne invaded Normandy on the east, King Louis entered it on the south; the former took the town of Aumale, the latter that of Verneuil. The Bretons rose, under the Earl of Chester and Ralph de Fougeres; but the king defeated them near Dol, and then forced their leaders to surrender in that town. A conference followed between the two kings, in which Henry, only stipulating to hold the sovereignty for his life, offered half the revenues of England, or of Normandy and Anjou, to his son Henry, half those of

* Henry was but eighteen, Richard sixteen, and Geoffrey fifteen years old.

Guienne to Richard, and promised to resign Brittany to Geoffrey. But the insolence of the Earl of Leicester broke off the negotiation: for this rebel had the audacity to revile and insult his sovereign, and even to lay his hand on his sword as if to draw it on him.

The King of Scots had, meantime, entered Northumberland; and his barbarous hordes committed their usual excesses. But Richard de Lucy, whom Henry had left guardian of the realm, defeated him, and forced him to make a truce and retire. Lucy then marched southward to engage Leicester, who had landed in Suffolk with a large body of Flemings; and, being joined by Hugh Bigod of Framlingham, was about to push on for the heart of the kingdom. The guardian met him with an inferior force at Fornham in Suffolk.* Ten thousand Flemings fell in the action, and Leicester himself was made a prisoner.

The following year, 1174, a number of the English barons rose in arms; and the King of Scots made an irruption at the head of eighty thousand of his ferocious subjects. The guardian, ably supported by the Bishop of Lincoln, the king's natural son, and a gallant man, took the field against him; but was very hard pressed, and Henry found his own presence requisite in England. He landed at Southampton July 10; and, being either influenced by superstition, or resolved to call it to his aid, he proceeded to Canterbury to worship at the tomb of the new saint. When he came within sight of the church, he alighted from his horse, and walked to it barefoot. He prostrated himself before the shrine of the martyr; and the Bishop of London, addressing the spectators, called on them to believe in the innocence of the king. Henry then assembled the monks in the chapter-house; and, placing a scourge in the hand of each, bared his back, and submitted to the discipline which they inflicted, and watched that night alone in the church. Next morning, having received absolution, he set out for London, where

* Fornham St. Genevieve, near Bury St. Edmunds?

intelligence soon arrived of the defeat and capture of the King of Scots at Alnwick by Ralph de Glanville, the famous justiciary, and the northern barons ; and, as this victory was said to have been gained on the very day when the king had received absolution, viz., the 12th of July, it was regarded as a proof of his being reconciled to Heaven and the blessed martyr. Henry was too politic not to take advantage of this opinion, and profess to rejoice in the renewed friendship of the saint. He speedily reduced the English rebels ; and, returning to Normandy, relieved the town of Rouen, which Louis was besieging. A truce was then made ; a conference followed at Tours, and an accommodation was effected, Henry giving his sons far less advantageous terms than he had offered them before. He however consented to pardon their adherents.

The Scottish king had to pay dearly for his share in this unjust enterprise. He himself, his bishops and his barons, were obliged to come to York on the 10th of August, 1175, and in the cathedral do homage to King Henry ; acknowledging him and his successors for their superior lord, and ceding to him the fortresses of Berwick and Roxburgh in perpetuity.

Having thus terminated the contest in which he had been engaged with his family and neighbours, Henry for some years turned his thoughts to the improvement of the laws and police of his kingdom.

The turbulence of his sons, however, again disturbed his peace in 1183. He had required Richard to do homage for Guienne to his brother Henry. This violent youth refused ; and a ferocious war, in which no quarter was given, commenced between the brothers. The king, with some difficulty, made up the difference : but immediately his son Henry began to plot against him. A fever, however, seized this young prince, and carried him off on the 11th of June. When dying he was filled with remorse, and sent to entreat his father to visit him. The king, fearing treachery, refused ; but sent him his ring by a prelate, in token of forgiveness. The dying prince pressed it to his lips ; then

ordering the bishops who were present to lay him on a bed of ashes, he in that position received the sacraments and expired.

As Richard was now heir apparent, the king called on him to resign Guienne to his brother John. Richard, however, refused, and was preparing to have recourse to arms; but, on the appearance of his mother in Guienne, he quietly gave it up to her. Scarcely was this feud ended, when Geoffrey demanded that Anjou should be annexed to Brittany; and, meeting with a refusal, he fled to the court of France, and began to levy troops. He was killed, however, soon after, at a tournament, in 1186; and his son, born afterward, and named Arthur, was acknowledged Duke of Brittany.

The Christian dominion in the East was now at an end. The great Sultan Saladin had utterly defeated the Christians at Hittin or Tiberias, and reduced the Holy City, and all the towns except a few on the coast. All Europe was filled with grief and indignation; and a new crusade, in which the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa and the kings of France and England were to be the leaders, was preached in 1188. But, while the preparations were going forward, the French king excited the restless Richard to invade the territories of the Count of Toulouse; and then, under pretext of defending the count, his vassal, he made an irruption into some of King Henry's provinces. The French nobles, however, would not stand by their lord in such manifest injustice, and a conference was held to treat of peace. But Philip required that Richard should be crowned King of England, be put in immediate possession of the French provinces, and marry his sister Alice, who had been already sent to England as his affianced bride. Henry, who was suspected of an improper attachment to that princess, refused. Richard then revolted, and did homage to the King of France; and the war was renewed. In vain the papal legates used their spiritual weapons on the side of Henry: his barons rebelled, town after town surrendered to his

enemies, and he was obliged to yield to all the demands of the French king. To complete his grief, when he demanded a list of the barons whom, as usual, he was to pardon, the name of his favourite son John appeared at the head of it. In the anguish of his soul, he cursed the day on which he was born, and pronounced a malediction on his children, which he never would revoke. He fell into a lingering fever, of which he died on the 6th of July, 1189, at the castle of Chinon, near Saumur; his last moments being cheered alone by the presence of his natural son Geoffrey. As soon as he expired, the barons and prelates departed; and the attendants stripped the corpse, and carried off everything of value. A few days after, King Henry was buried, without much pomp, at the Abbey of Fontevrault; his son Richard, and a few prelates and barons attending his obsequies.

Henry Plantagenet was handsome in person and polished in manners. He was eloquent, affable, and courteous; a lover of justice, and a friend to learning. He was abstemious in his diet, and used a prodigious deal of exercise, in order to keep down his tendency to corpulence. He was an indulgent parent and a kind master. On the other hand, he was licentious, passionate, vindictive, false, and regardless of his oaths and promises. The extreme caution of his temper was often more injurious to his interests than the opposite defect would have been; and cupidity was the moving cause of some of his most beneficial measures. On the whole, however, he was possessed of most of the qualities of his race; and was one of the ablest princes who have occupied the throne of England.

Of his sons by Queen Eleanor, two alone, Richard and John, survived him: his three daughters were married to the kings of Castile and Sicily, and Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony.* The best known of his

* The present royal family of England are descended from Henry and his wife.

natural children were Geoffrey, who was first made bishop of Lincoln and then archbishop of York, and William, surnamed Longespé or Longsword, who espoused Ela the heiress of Salisbury, and obtained with her that earldom and its estates. The mother of one or both of these sons was the Fair Rosamond, daughter of Lord Clifford, a baron of Herefordshire.*

To Henry Fitz-Empress must be allotted the high praise of having possessed a legislative mind. The venerable Common Law of England, it is thought, may date its origin from his reign. The following are some of the alterations made by this monarch.

The inconveniences which resulted from the King's Court always attending the person of the king, had led to a partial separation of that part of it answering to the court of exchequer. It was first fixed at Winchester; but the numerous frauds on the royal revenue, committed in the more remote parts of the kingdom, had suggested the employment of Barons-errant or Justices-in-Eyre (i. e., *in itinere*, itinerating, or travelling). In 1176, Henry divided the kingdom into six districts, nearly corresponding with the modern circuits, to each of which he appointed three itinerant judges. The office of these judges was to look after the king's interests sedulously: in reality, to draw as much money as possible into the exchequer. Thus they were to inquire diligently into all points relating to the wardships and marriages of the king's tenants-in-chief; and to see what lands had lapsed to the crown, and what churches were in its gift, what encroachments had been made on the royal forests, &c. It was also a part of their duty to examine into the state of the coinage, to look after fines due to the crown, and after the chattels of deceased money-lenders. They were likewise empowered to try malefactors of all descriptions, and to receive the oath of fealty from all persons, from the earl down to the villain. We are thus indebted to Henry's regard to

* See Appendix (L).

his revenue for an institution which has secured the uniformity of the common law ; and which gives "the assurance which is felt by the poorest and most remote inhabitant of England, that his right is weighed by the same incorrupt and acute understanding upon which the decisions of the highest questions is reposed."*

The trial by jury or by the country also received its development in this reign. The Normans, though they had added the wager of battle to the Saxon ordeals, were more inclined to seek for justice by the depositions of witnesses. The itinerant justices were therefore directed, when they held pleas, to summon before them four knights of every hundred, who were to choose twelve other knights, or free and lawful men. These twelve swore to answer all questions, and to obey all commands given them. They were then ordered to *present* at the bar all persons in the hundred suspected of murder, felony, or any other breach of the peace. If the accused had not been taken in the fact, or with the property in his possession, he was allowed to clear himself by the ordeal of water. If he failed he was executed, or his property was confiscated and he was banished, having previously lost a hand or a foot. At the same time, acquittal by the ordeal only secured his life, limbs, and property ; while suspicion still adhered to him, and, according to the magnitude of the offence with which he was charged, he had to find security or to quit the kingdom.

The wager of battle took place when the accused, instead of being prosecuted by the jury, was charged by a single individual. In that case, as one man's assertion might claim to be as good as another's, the accused might deny the charge, fling down his glove, and declare his willingness to defend his innocence with his body. If the accuser took up the glove, the judges proceeded to award the trial of battle, provided they saw reason to doubt the guilt of the accused

* Hallam, ii., 463.

In the court chivalry, or that of the constable and marshal, the trial by battle was also awarded, when a cause could not be decided by witnesses or documents. Trial by battle, we may observe, took place in civil as well as criminal cases: in writs of right, for example, where a seller denied that he had warranted his goods, or a debtor that he owed the money for which he was sued. In such cases the defendant might fight in person or employ a champion; while the plaintiff was obliged to intrust his cause to the arm of a freeman, who would swear of his own knowledge to the justice of his claim. A great improvement made by Henry was, permitting the defendant in civil suits to obtain a writ to stop the wager of battle: the plaintiff had then to get a writ to proceed by "Grand Assize."* A jury was then empannelled as before, by the sheriff, who were to decide the cause by their own knowledge of the facts, or by the testimony of persons of whose evidence they could have no doubt. If any of the jurors pleaded ignorance of the matter to be tried, they were discharged and others substituted; and in this way an unanimous verdict was at length obtained. The superior equity of this mode was so apparent, that it was gradually extended to causes of all kinds. In course of time, jurors became judges of evidence instead of mere witnesses; and the main bulwark of English freedom, as it is considered, assumed the form in which it is now enjoyed.

The "Assize of arms" was made by Henry for the defence of the kingdom. The itinerant justices were directed to inquire into the amount of every man's property, and see that he possessed the arms apportioned to it. For every knight's fee the holder was to provide a coat of mail, helmet, shield, and lance; a

* *Assize* means simply *sitting*. It signified the court or jury that tried a cause; and it afterward expressed the writ directed to the court. *Assize* also came to signify *rule* or *law*; thus we say the "assize of bread." The old French collection of the laws of the kingdom of Jerusalem was called *Les Assises de Jérusalem* (The Assizes of Jerusalem).

free layman who had property to the amount of sixteen marks was to be similarly armed; he that possessed only ten marks was to have a habergeon, iron scullcap and lance; and burgesses were to have at least a *wambais* or quilted jacket, a scullcap and lance.*

The writs and charters of the Anglo-Norman monarchs had been in Latin or Saxon: in the reign of Henry II. the former language was exclusively employed, and such continued to be the usage in the subsequent reigns.

CHAPTER II.

RICHARD (CŒUR DE LION).†

1189-1199.

Preparations for the Crusade.—Massacre of the Jews.—Richard's Crusade; Captivity in Germany; Return to England; his Death; Character.—Longbeard.

THE title of Richard to the crown of England was so clear, that he remained for more than a month in France after the death of his father, during which time the orders which he sent over to England were punctually obeyed. His first act was to direct the liberation of his mother, Queen Eleanor, from the prison in which she had lain for some years; and he gave her permission to set at liberty such other prisoners as she chose. To those who had been faithful and loyal servants and subjects to his father, he manifested the utmost favour; while those who had aided

* As there is no mention of bows and arrows, Hume infers that archery was not as yet much practised. This is a mistake; as the tales of Robin Hood alone suffice to show.

† Authorities: same as before, with Vinisauf's "*Iter Ricardi regis Hierosolymitanum*" (Journey of King Richard to Jerusalem).

him in his own rebellion were forbidden even to appear in his presence. Having received the ducal crown of Normandy, and done homage to King Philip, he at length sailed for England; and, landing at Portsmouth on the 13th of August, proceeded to London, in order to be there crowned.

On the 3d of September King Richard was consecrated in the Abbey of Westminster, by Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury. He thence proceeded to the hall to hold his feast. Some of the leading Jews, as deputies from their afflicted race (though, fearful of their magic arts, the king had forbidden their presence by proclamation), ventured to the hall, bearing gifts after the manner of the East. A Christian struck one of them at the door; the courtiers then fell on them, robbed them, and drove them out; the word flew that the king had given orders for the massacre of the Jews; and they were barbarously slaughtered in the streets, their houses burned, and their women and children cast into the flames. The king directed a judicial inquiry to be made, and a few of the ring-leaders were taken and hanged; but so many of the principal citizens had been implicated, that it was not deemed prudent to search too closely into the matter.

Richard had taken the cross; and his martial ardour and chivalrous spirit of religion urged him to lead to the East an army worthy of the magnitude of his dominions. To raise the needful funds was now his care. In his father's coffers he found one hundred thousand marks (\$320,000), besides plate and jewels. He sold the manors and other domains of the crown; he put the offices of the state to sale; the Bishop of Durham purchased the office of justiciary for one thousand marks (\$3200); the same prelate also bought, for one thousand pounds (\$4800), the earldom of Northumberland from the needy king, who jestingly observed that he had made a young earl of an old bishop; and, for the sum of ten thousand pounds (\$48,000), he restored to his Scottish vassal the castles of Berwick and Roxburgh, and released him from all agreements which the late king had "extorted by

new charters and by means of his captivity.* To those who remonstrated with him, the king replied, that he would sell the city of London if he could find a purchaser. All these modes of raising money not sufficing, he, with the pope's permission, took money in lieu of service from those who, having assumed the cross, preferred remaining at home; he borrowed likewise large sums from his wealthy subjects; and made those who had committed offences pay dearly for impunity.

Richard appointed the Bishop of Durham, and William Longchamp, bishop of Ely, the chancellor and papal legate, to govern the kingdom during his absence in the East. He sought to secure the fidelity of his brother John by heaping on him wealth and honours; he gave him eight castles with their lands, and made him earl of not less than six counties; and he married him to Alisa, the heiress of the wealthy Earl of Gloucester. For greater security, he exacted from him and his natural brother Geoffrey, now Archbishop of York, an oath to remain in Normandy till his return: from which, however, he imprudently released them before his departure.

Ere the king set out, the zeal of the warriors of the cross in England once more directed itself against the ill-fated people of Israel. At Norwich, Stamford, and elsewhere, many of them were butchered. At York they fled into the castle for refuge, after the wives and children of several had been massacred before their eyes. When the governor, who was absent, arrived, they declined admitting him, alleging their necessity. He broke out into a rage, and cheered on the populace to the assault. The priests also urged them, a hermit clad in white led them on, and the castle was besieged for some days. Seeing the hopelessness of resist-

* This was no renunciation of feudal superiority, as has been erroneously supposed; for it is added, "So however that he shall fully and entirely perform to us whatever his brother Malcolm king of Scotland did of right perform, and of right ought to perform, to our predecessors."—Rymer, i., 64. See Lingard, ii., 311, *note*, and Palgrave.

ance, a rabbi advised his brethren to make a voluntary surrender of their lives to their God, rather than fall into the hands of their cruel foes. A few only dissented: the rest assembled and destroyed their jewels and other articles of value. They then set fire to the castle; and while it burned, Jocen, the most honourable man among them, cut the throat of his wife, and his example was followed by all. Jocen then destroyed himself, and the others did likewise. The few who shrank from voluntary death met their doom next morning from the people. All the bonds of Christians to Jews, which were deposited in the cathedral, were taken and burned. Glanville, the great justiciary, was sent to inquire into the affair; but three persons only were punished.

Our limits do not permit us to enter into the details of King Richard's crusade. In the end of June, 1190, he and the King of France reviewed their troops, one hundred thousand in number, on the plains of Vezelay. They thence marched to embark at different ports, and met again at Messina in Sicily. The sister of Richard had been married to the late king of this island; but his natural uncle Tancred, who had usurped the throne, had refused to pay the queen her dowry, and had even cast her into prison. Honour and natural affection urged Richard to demand justice for his sister. Tancred sought to sow enmity between him and King Philip; but, after a good deal of altercation, Richard became reconciled to Tancred, who yielded to all his demands, and to whose daughter he engaged his nephew Arthur in marriage. When Philip called on him to perform his marriage with the Princess Alice, he gave a positive refusal; offering to prove that she had borne a child to his father; and Philip, probably aware of the truth of what he alleged, forbore to press him. Shortly after Queen Eleanor arrived, leading with her Berengaria, daughter of Sanchez king of Navarre, whom he had wooed while he was residing in Guienne; and Philip gave his consent to the marriage.

Richard sailed from Messina, taking with him his

wife and sister. On his way to Syria he made the conquest of the isle of Cyprus; he found the King of France and the other Christian princes, with a numerous army of pilgrims, beleaguering the city of Acre; while Sultan Saladin lay close at hand with his forces. In about a month after the arrival of the English king, the garrison surrendered: two thousand five hundred of them being to remain as hostages till the sultan should release an equal number of Christian prisoners, and pay a sum of 200,000 byzants.* The King of France then went home, leaving a part of his troops behind; and, some difficulty or delay arising about the payment of the ransom, King Richard had his prisoners brought out, and coolly massacred in view of the sultan's camp. He led his army thence along the coast towards Jaffa. Near Arsooff he defeated the troops of Saladin, who then destroyed Ascalon at his approach. Negotiations for peace were carried on: a marriage between the Queen of Sicily and Malek-el-Adel, the sultan's brother, was proposed, but no treaty could be effected. The Christian army came within view of Jerusalem, and then retired, owing to dissensions among its chiefs. At length a truce for three years was made with the sultan; and, the pilgrims having visited the Holy City, the King of England embarked with a small retinue at Acre, on the 9th of October, 1192, to return to his dominions. During the sixteen months of his abode in the East, he had performed such feats of personal valour, that his name long continued to be a word of terror among the Saracens; but the waywardness and inconsistency of his character had prevented him from gaining the esteem or respect of any.

We must now take a view of what was passing in the mean time in England. Soon after the king's departure, Longchamp arrested his colleague, the Bishop of Durham, and forced him to resign his earldom and his other dignities. He assumed the greatest pomp and

* A byzant or bizantine was a gold piece of the value of about \$54, and was so called from Byzantium (now Constantinople), where it was coined.—*Am. Ed.*

state, treated the kingdom as if it were his own, and bestowed all places in church and state on his relations and dependants. In his progresses through the kingdom he was attended by a guard of one thousand five hundred mercenaries; and nobles and knights appeared in his train. The king, hearing of this conduct while he was at Messina, appointed the Archbishop of Rouen, the Earl of Strigul, and three other knights, to be his counsellors in order to restrain him; but such was their dread of Longchamp, that they did not even venture to show him their commission. At length he dared to drag Geoffrey, the archbishop of York, from the sanctuary of a church, and cast him into prison; and, while the general indignation was strong against him for this act, Prince John summoned a great council at Reading, before which he was cited to appear. He shut himself up in the Tower of London; but want of provisions forcing him to surrender, he was deprived of his offices. He retired to Dover, whence he attempted to make his escape to France in the dress of a woman; but was detected and cast into prison. He was, however, soon after suffered to depart. The office of justiciary was now conferred on the Archbishop of Rouen, a prelate of great moderation and virtue. Longchamp, whose legatine commission had been renewed, kept threatening to lay the kingdom under interdict; and the King of France, who was now returned, though he had sought in vain to prevail on the pope to release him from the oath which he had made to Richard, not to make any attempt on his dominions during his absence, was preparing to invade Normandy. The refusal of his nobles to aid him in so unjust an enterprise obliging him to desist, he tried to gain over Prince John by the offer of the hand of his sister Alice and the possession of King Richard's dominions in France; but the influence of his mother, and the menaces of the English council, retained that prince, though unwillingly, in his allegiance.

News now arrived that King Richard lay a captive in Germany. Having suffered shipwreck in the Adri-

atic, he was proceeding, under an assumed name, through Germany, when, on the 20th of December, he was discovered and arrested at an inn in a small town near Vienna by the Duke of Austria, whom he had grossly insulted when in Syria. The duke lost no time in informing the Emperor Henry VI. of his prize; and at Christmas he proceeded with his captive to Ratisbon, where the emperor kept that festival, and engaged to give him up to him at the ensuing Easter. The emperor sent forthwith to inform the King of France, who resolved to take every advantage of Richard's calamity. He offered the emperor a large sum of money to detain him in captivity; by insisting on a calumnious tale of Richard's having procured the murder of the Marquess of Montferrat in the East, and of even having plotted against his own life, he induced his nobles to join in an invasion of Normandy; and, having held a conference with Prince John, he engaged him to aid in stripping his captive brother and benefactor of his dominions. Their iniquitous project, however, failed. Philip, after making himself master of a part of Normandy, was forced to raise the siege of Rouen, and to conclude a truce with the English regency. John, whose scene of operation was England, having seized the castles of Windsor and Wallingford, proceeded to London to claim the crown, asserting that his brother was dead; but the nobles rejected his claim with contempt, knowing what he said to be false; and the justiciary, having assembled an army, forced him to beg a truce. Not thinking himself safe in England, he fled to the King of France.

When the English nobles heard of the captivity of their king, they assembled in council at Oxford, on the 28th of February, 1193, and resolved that the abbots of Broxley and Pont-Robert should proceed to Germany to learn his situation. The abbots met the king in Bavaria, on his way to Mentz,* where he was given up, on the 23d of March, to the emperor, by the

* See Appendix (M).

Duke of Austria. In the mean while, Richard's wife and sister, who were at Rome, were urgent with the pope to use his power in his behalf; Queen Eleanor also wrote pressing letters to him in favour of her son. By her advice, Richard offered to hold his crown in fee of the emperor, and to pay him £5000 (\$24,000) a year as tribute.

At Easter, Henry brought the King of England before the diet of the empire, and there accused him of aiding his enemy Tancred of Sicily; of having deposed the King of Cyprus, a relative of the emperor; of having caused the Marquess Conrad, a vassal of the empire, to be assassinated; of having ill-treated German pilgrims, insulted the banner of the Duke of Austria, betrayed the Holy Land to Saladin, and committed sundry acts of disloyalty against his liege, the King of France. Against all these charges Richard defended himself with spirit and dignity; his eloquence drew tears from some of those who were present; and the emperor, embracing him, promised him his friendship. He was assigned an abode at Mentz befitting his rank; and on the 29th of June, his ransom was agreed on. He was to pay down one hundred thousand marks of silver (\$320,000), and give sixty hostages to the emperor and seven to the duke, for the payment of a farther sum of fifty thousand, of which twenty thousand were to go to the duke, to whose son he was to give his niece, Eleanor of Brittany, in marriage. To raise the money, a scutage* of twenty shillings was imposed on every knight's fee in England, a tallage* was laid on the towns, and the clergy gave their plate, and otherwise contributed largely. Before Christmas, Queen Eleanor and the Bishop of Rouen set out with the money for Germany; but new difficulties were raised by the emperor, to whom the King of France and Prince John had made the most lavish promises, to induce him to detain his captive for another year. But Eleanor appealed to the princes of the empire; and on the 4th

* For an account of these taxes, see p. 146, 148.

of February, 1194, after more than a year's captivity, King Richard was set at liberty, and on the 13th of March he landed at Sandwich in his own dominions. When the King of France heard of his liberation, he wrote to Prince John in these words: "Take care of yourself: the devil is unchained."

On King Richard's entrance into London, the citizens, we are told, made such a display of their wealth to testify their joy, that one of the Germans who were with him could not help saying, "If our emperor had known the riches of England, thy ransom, oh king, would have been far greater." After passing but three days in London, Richard went to lay siege to Prince John's castle of Nottingham; and, on its surrender, he held there a great council, in which all that prince's possessions were declared to be forfeited, if he did not appear within forty days to justify himself. It was farther resolved, that, to wipe off, as it were, the stain of captivity, the king should be crowned anew. The ceremony was performed at Winchester on the 17th of April. Richard then embarked his troops on board one hundred ships, for the war against the King of France, and landed at Barfleure.

The war, like most of those of the time, consisted merely of skirmishes and the taking of castles on both sides. Prince John, who was at Evreux, resolved to throw himself on his brother's mercy. Ever base and treacherous, he invited the officers of the French garrison to dinner, and massacred them while at the entertainment; then, with the aid of the townsmen, he fell on and slaughtered the garrison. He threw himself at his brother's feet, imploring forgiveness. Queen Eleanor interceded, and Richard pardoned him, saying, "I forgive him, and hope I shall as easily forget his injuries as he will my pardon." He did not, however, as yet restore to him his possessions.

The war was terminated by a truce on the 23d of July, 1195, on the expiration of which it was again resumed; and, during the short remnant of King Richard's reign, it was only occasionally intermitted. That monarch's death occurred in 1199, in the follow-

ing manner: Vidomar, viscount of Limoges, who was his vassal, having found a treasure of ancient coins, sent the king a part as a present; but Richard, as superior lord, claimed the whole; and on the viscount's refusal to surrender it, he placed himself at the head of a body of Brabançons, and laid siege to his castle of Chaluz. As he and Marcadee, the leader of his mercenaries, were one day (March 26) taking a view of the castle, one of the garrison, named Bertram de Gourdon, discharged a bolt from his crossbow, which hit the king in the left shoulder. Richard returned to his tent, and gave orders for the assault. The castle was taken; and, as the king had menaced, all its defenders were hanged except Gourdon, who was probably reserved for a more cruel fate. But want of skill in his surgeon rendered the king's wound mortal; and, feeling the approach of death, he summoned Gourdon to his presence. "Wretch!" said he, "what have I ever done to thee that thou shouldst seek my life?" "You have killed," replied he, "with your own hands, my father and two brothers; and you intended to hang me. I am now in your power, and you may torment me as you will; but I shall endure with joy, happy in having rid the world of such a pest." The king, struck with his reply, ordered him a sum of money and his liberty; but Marcadee, unknown to him, seized the unhappy man, flayed him alive, and then hanged him. Richard died on the tenth day, in the forty-second year of his age; expressing great penitence for his vices, and having undergone a severe flagellation, at his own desire, from the clergy who attended him.

The epithet of Lion-heart (*Cœur de Lion*), which his courage procured for him, has apparently been the cause of investing this prince with qualities to which he had but little claim: as we erroneously couple magnanimity and generosity with the idea of courage, in the monarch of the woods. But Richard was in reality selfish, passionate, cruel, revengeful, and capricious: he had all his father's bad, and few of his good qualities. Like him, however, he had a fond-

ness for the Gay Science, or lyric poetry of the South of France. He even practised that art himself; and, like him, too, he had a ready wit,* and could express himself with eloquence. No monarch drew larger sums from his subjects' purses; and, for this purpose, he scrupled at neither violence nor meanness.

In the latter part of this king's reign, in 1196, a riot took place in London, excited by one William Fitz-Osbert, surnamed Longbeard: "the patriarch," as Hallam says, "of a long line of city demagogues," styling himself the "advocate of the People." The cause was the heavy taxes imposed by the king for his war in France, which Longbeard asserted to be necessary, but maintained that they were eluded by the rich and great, and thrown entirely on the poor. He went over to France to the king: on his return he resumed his agitation; and so inflamed the people by his speeches from St. Paul's Cross, that no less than fifty-two thousand persons bound themselves to obey his orders. Archbishop Hubert, however, assembled the citizens, and prevailed upon them to give him hostages. Fitz-Osbert clove with an axe the head of the officer sent to arrest him, and then took refuge in the tower of the church of St. Mary le Bow; but the church was set on fire, and, as he attempted to escape, he was stabbed by the son of the man whom he had slain, and was then dragged to Tyburn, and there hung from the Elms. Miracles were, as usual, said by his partisans to have been wrought at his grave.

* In his war with the King of France, the Bishop of Beauvais, who fought against him, was made a prisoner. The pope wrote, requiring him to pity his dear son. Richard sent him the prelate's coat of mail, with these words: "This have we found; know now whether it be thy son's coat or not." "No, not my son's," said the pontiff, "but of some son of Mars, who may deliver him if he can."

CHAPTER III.

JOHN (LACKLAND).*

1199-1216.

Accession of John ; his Marriage.—Capture and Murder of Prince Arthur.—Loss of Normandy.—Contest with the Pope.—John becomes a Vassal of the Holy See.—Magna Charta.—War between John and his Barons ; his Death.

KING RICHARD, it is said, left his dominions to his brother John ; though Arthur, duke of Brittany, as representative of his father Geoffrey, was, by the feudal law, the next heir, and had already been regarded as such by the king his uncle. But, as we have seen, the principles of primogeniture and representation had been hitherto little attended to in the Anglo-Norman line ; and Richard may have thought his nephew (who was but twelve years of age) too young ; or, as is more probable, he may have been influenced by Queen Eleanor, who hated Constance the mother of Arthur, and feared the power she might acquire during the minority.

To secure England, John sent thither his fast friends, Hubert archbishop of Canterbury, and the earl-marshal William earl of Strigul ; and induced Robert de Turnham, who held the castle of Chinon, where the late king's treasure was deposited, to yield it up to him. Normandy, Poitou, and Guienne submitted ; but Anjou, Maine, and Touraine declared for Arthur, whose side the King of France also took, with the design of embarrassing John ; and he sent the young duke to Paris to be brought up with his own son Louis. Meantime the primate and the earl-marshal had held a conference with the English nobility and clergy ; and, by

* Authorities the same as before, excepting Brompton, Hoveden, Newbury, Gervasius, and Diceto.

presents and by promises of good government, had prevailed on them to swear allegiance to John. On his arrival, on the 27th of May, he was crowned by the primate at Westminster; and shortly after he recrossed the sea, to carry on the war against the King of France.

The war, as usual, consisted in the taking of castles and the making of truces. William des Roches, the governor of the young Duke of Brittany, perceiving that Philip was making the cause of that prince merely a stalking-horse to his own ambition, carried him and his mother away, and reconciled them with King John. Ere long, however, Constance, fearing for the life of her son, fled with him to Angers. As John, by an alliance with the Emperor of Germany and the Earl of Flanders, was now too powerful for King Philip, who was also embroiled with the pope, the latter gladly consented to a peace. Louis, son to the French king, espoused Blanche of Castile, the English king's niece, whom Queen Eleanor conducted out of Spain for the purpose. He was to receive Berri and Auvergne, and a dowry of twenty thousand marks (\$64,000) with her. Philip, on his part, abandoned the cause of Prince Arthur, who lost, in consequence, the provinces he claimed, and had, moreover, to do homage to his uncle for Brittany.

Being now secure in his dominions, John, who never knew a moral or religious restraint, proceeded, by his disregard of justice, to raise up new enemies for himself. He fell in love with Isabel, the beautiful daughter of his vassal the Count of Angoulême; and, though she was actually betrothed to the Count of La Marche, and his own wife, the heiress of Gloucester, was living, he resolved to espouse her. He therefore made the discovery that himself and his wife were too near akin; and the Archbishop of Bordeaux and two other prelates, to whom the pope committed the inquiry, declared the marriage void. Her father, having meantime stolen away Isabel from the Count of La Marche, the Bishop of Bordeaux performed the marriage ceremony. John conducted his bride into England, where

she was crowned with him at Westminster, on the 8th of October, 1200. The Count of La Marche, though John was his superior lord, would not tamely brook the affront thus offered to him. Aided by his brother, the Count d'Eu, and secretly encouraged by the King of France, he induced the Poitevins to revolt. John summoned his English barons to cross the sea and reduce the rebels; but they refused, unless he would engage to restore and respect their privileges. They were, however, forced to yield; and either serve, or pay him two marks for every knight's fee. Soon after his landing he had an interview with the King of France, in which they renewed their treaty of amity; and, at the desire of the latter, John and his young queen went and passed a few days at Paris, where Philip resigned his own palace to them. John then proceeded against the rebels; but, instead of attacking them, he entered into negotiations, promising them justice; and, having thus pacified them a little, he returned to Rouen, where he spent the rest of the year in festivity.

The Poitevin barons, wearied with the duplicity of John, appealed to Philip as the superior lord in 1202; and this prince, being now on good terms with the church, flung off the mask, and declared himself their protector. He also espoused the cause of Arthur (whose mother Constance had lately died), knighted him, and gave him his daughter Mary in marriage. At an interview between the two kings, Philip required that John should resign to his nephew his French provinces, and make sufficient satisfaction to the Count of La Marche. John refused these terms, and a war ensued. Philip rapidly made himself master of several towns and fortresses in Normandy. The young Duke of Brittany put himself at the head of two hundred lances, and set out for Poitou. On his way, hearing that his enemy, Queen Eleanor, was at a castle named Mirebeau, and but slenderly guarded, he resolved to endeavour to secure her person. He carried by assault the lower part of the castle, and was hard pressing the queen, when John, who, on learn-

ing the danger of his mother, had advanced rapidly with some troops to her aid, was seen approaching. Arthur, who had been joined by the Count of La Marche and other nobles, advanced to give him battle; but they were defeated, and driven back to Mirebeau, where they were miserably slaughtered; and Arthur, the Count of La Marche, the viscounts of Limoges, Thouars, and Lusignan, and two hundred knights, were made prisoners. The latter were laden with irons, tied on carts drawn by oxen, and sent to different fortresses in England and Normandy. Twenty-two of them were actually starved to death at Corfe Castle. The young duke was confined for the present at Falaise.* The King of France, who was besieging Argues, retired on the news of this disaster.

The fate of Arthur is involved in mystery. The belief of the time respecting it seems to have been as follows. On his return to Normandy, John repaired to Falaise, where he had an interview with his nephew, whom he required to renounce his alliance with the French king, and be reconciled to his uncle and natural friend. The gallant but imprudent youth replied with great spirit, demanding the cession, not only of the French provinces, but of England to him, as the rightful heir. John retired, now fully resolved on his destruction. Some of John's counsellors suggested the ordinary expedient of blinding and mutilating him; but the king deemed death the surest course. He proposed his assassination to William de Bray, who replied that he was a gentleman, not a hangman, and refused. A ready agent was soon found, and despatched to Falaise; but Hubert de Bourg, the governor of the castle, said he would execute the order himself; and then, to save the prince, spread a report of his death. John, however, was not to be cheated of his prey, and had the prince removed to the New Tower on the banks of the Seine, at Rouen. One night, the 3d of April, Arthur was rous-

* Arthur's sister Eleanor, called the "Maid of Brittany," was shut up in a convent at Bristol, where she remained a captive for forty years.

ed from his repose at midnight, and ordered to come out of the tower in which he lay. The king and his equerry, Walter de Mauluc, were seated in a small boat at the foot of the tower. The prince entered the boat: the lowering countenance of his uncle spoke his fate: he threw himself on his knees, and, with floods of tears, sued for mercy. In vain! he was seized by the hair, and a dagger pierced his bosom. But whether John himself, or Mauluc (who received the heiress of Mulgref and her estates as his reward), was the actual assassin, remains in doubt. A stone was fastened to the body, which was then flung into the Seine.*

This murder lost John a third of his dominions. The Breton barons met at Vannes, and sent deputies to accuse him before his superior lord, the King of France. Philip forthwith summoned him to appear, and answer before his peers to the charge of having murdered an *arrière-vassal*† of the crown of France, his own nephew and vassal, whom he was bound to protect, and who was son-in-law of the lord paramount, to whom he owed honour as well as fealty. John sent, requiring a safe conduct. Philip said, "Let him come in peace." "But," replied the envoys, "a safe conduct to return?" "Be it so," said he, "if the judgment of his peers allow it." They urged that their master was also King of England, and that his subjects there might not allow him thus to expose himself. "What is it to me?" said Philip; "is not the Duke of Normandy my vassal? If he has chosen to gain a higher title, I am not thereby to lose my rights over him." As John did not appear, he was pronounced by the court to be contumacious, was condemned to death, and declared to have forfeit-

* The murder of Arthur is certain: the manner or the agent is of little importance. The details given above are from the sixth book of the *Philippiad* of the contemporary poet William Brito. The annals of Margan say: "*feria quinta ante Pascha propria manu interfecit [rex]*"—(on the fifth holyday before Easter, the king murdered him with his own hand).

† A vassal who held his domains of a lord who was the vassal of another lord; an under-tenant.—*Am. Ed.*

ed all the territories he held of the King of France. Nothing could be more accordant with justice, on feudal principles, than was this sentence ; though Philip, in seeking it, was probably actuated more by ambition than by a sense of equity. The following spring, 1203, Philip assembled an army to carry the sentence into effect ; and, aided by the remissness of John, and the general horror which the murder of his nephew had caused, he speedily stripped him of all his continental dominions, except Guienne. Queen Eleanor died during these events, in 1204, at an advanced age, having lived to witness the decline of the monarchy to whose greatness she had so largely contributed. The question whether the Capetians or the Plantagenets were to predominate in France, was now finally settled in favour of the former.

It was the misfortune of this most worthless prince, that he always had to deal with enemies far superior to himself in ability, and to whom his vices and crimes gave a considerable advantage over him. Philip Augustus was perhaps the ablest man of the line of Capet that ever occupied the throne of France ; but, had not John basely murdered his nephew, he might never have found a pretext for stripping him of his transmarine dominions. In like manner, the king's vices, by depriving him of the affections and support of his nobility, caused him to succumb in a contest with the Holy See, in which right was clearly on his side.

The papal throne was now filled by Innocent III., the ablest and most aspiring pontiff, Gregory VII. excepted, by whom it has ever been occupied. He had lately humbled the King of France and the Emperor of Germany ; and the death of Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, now gave him an opportunity of trampling on the pusillanimous King of England. It had long been disputed between the suffragan bishops and the monks of St. Augustine at Canterbury, which had the right of electing to the primacy. On the death of Hubert in 1205, the junior monks, anxious to anticipate the prelates, without even consulting their seniors,

met at midnight in chapter, and conferred the dignity on Reginald, their sub-prior, whom they instantly despatched to Rome to receive the papal confirmation, strictly charging him to keep the matter a most profound secret till he arrived at the Holy See. Reginald's vanity, however, got the better of his discretion. As soon as he reached Flanders, he assumed the title and state of an archbishop. The news soon reached England, when the king and the senior monks were greatly incensed; the junior monks were ashamed; and, to accommodate matters, the chapter unanimously elected the Bishop of Norwich. Fourteen of the monks were despatched to Rome, to solicit the pontiff's approval; the suffragans also sent an agent to maintain their claims, and Reginald was now there in person. Innocent saw his opportunity for advancing the claim of the papacy to appoint to spiritual dignities. Setting aside the two elections as irregular, in 1207, he ordered the monks to choose for their primate the Cardinal Stephen Langton, who was an Englishman by birth, though educated abroad. They remonstrated, but in vain. They were forced to obey: one only, Elias de Brantefield, having the courage to persevere in his refusal.

To sooth the king, Innocent sent him a present of four gold rings, set with precious stones, accompanied by a letter explaining their mystic meanings. He also wrote him a letter, extolling, and with truth, the virtues and the learning of the new primate. John, however, was not to be soothed. Suspecting the monks of having played falsely, he sent two of his knights to expel them from their monastery and seize their lands; and these knights, by threatening to burn their dwelling over their heads, forced them to depart and seek shelter in Flanders. John then wrote a very spirited and angry letter to the pontiff. Innocent replied in very bland terms, but hinting at the story of Thomas à Becket; and this was followed by an order to the bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester, to lay the kingdom under an interdict if John did not submit to the church. When they notified this to him, the

other prelates, with tears, besought him to give way ; but he swore, by his customary most blasphemous oath, that if the pope did so he would send him the whole body of his clergy, bishops and all, and seize their estates to his own use ; and that if, in future, he caught any Romans in his dominions, he would put out their eyes and cut off their noses, as a mark by which they might be known. The pope and his adherents were, however, well aware that this was all idle vaunting : for John had so alienated the minds of his people by heavy and arbitrary taxation, and of his nobles by abusing their wives and daughters, that he could not reckon on any aid from them. The interdict, accordingly, was pronounced in 1208. John, in return, seized the estates of such of the clergy as obeyed it ; he banished the prelates, and confined the monks in their convents, giving them a mere pittance from their own revenues to support them. To gall the clergy still more, he cast into prison the concubines or inferior wives which they generally had, with the connivance of the Holy See, and required large sums as the price of their liberty. Such, we are assured, was the profligate desperation of John, that he sent two knights and a priest, named Robert of London, on a secret embassy to Malek-en-Nasir, the Almohade prince of Morocco, offering to hold his kingdom of him, and even, as it is added, to embrace the faith of Islam, if he would aid him in the conflict for his crown which he foresaw. The Moslem, however, rejected the offer with contempt.*

After a year's trial of the effect of the interdict, the pontiff proceeded to the ultimate course of excommunication in 1209. But the bishops, to whom the publication of it was committed, feared the king too much to obey ; and Innocent, having waited a little, sent two legates, Pandolf and Durand, to England, who, on John's spurning at the claim of the church to his obedience in things temporal as well as spiritual, ful-

* The story is told by Paris, who had often heard Robert relating the particulars.

minated the sentence in 1211. On the return of the legates in 1212, Innocent pronounced a sentence of deposition against John, which he directed the King of France to execute; promising him, as his reward, the crown of England, and (what, perhaps, Philip valued less) the forgiveness of all his sins.

Philip, having summoned all his vassals to his standard, assembled a large army at Rouen; and a fleet of seventeen hundred vessels was collected to transport it to England. John, on his side, prepared for defence. He directed his seaports to send their shipping to Portsmouth; and issued orders to all his vassals to appear in arms at Dover, for the defence of the realm. Such numbers came that provisions ran short; and the king, having selected sixty thousand of the best armed and appointed, dismissed the remainder. This army, though brave, could not, however, be relied on: its patriotism was chilled by superstition, and it hated and despised the prince whose cause it sustained. The agents of the court of Rome, which wished to humble John rather than to aggrandize Philip, saw their advantage; Pandolf, who was in France, sent two templars to John to propose a private interview; and the king agreeing to it, they met at Dover. The artful legate so worked on his fears, by exaggerating the power of Philip, and showing him the extent of the disaffection of his own barons, that John, in his terror, declared himself ready to submit on any terms to the church. Pandolf required that he should acknowledge Langton, restore the other bishops, and make good all the temporal losses and damages they and the clergy in general had sustained during the contest; and he finally recommended and required, that, as a means of securing his kingdom against Philip, he should put it under the protection of the Holy See, by becoming its vassal in due form. To all these demands John assented without hesitation; and he forthwith passed a charter, making a surrender of England and Ireland to God, St. Peter, and St. Paul, and to Pope Innocent and his successors; agreeing to hold them of the See of Rome by the annual payment

of one thousand marks (\$3200). He then, on the 15th of May, in the church of the Templars, and surrounded by his prelates and nobles, paid his homage in the usual manner to the legate : laying at his feet a part of the tribute, on which the haughty priest, it is said, insolently trampled ; and, though all present were offended, the Archbishop of Dublin alone dared to express his feelings.

Pandolf returned to France ; and, having congratulated Philip on the success of his enterprise, commanded him to dismiss his army, and not to molest a vassal of the Holy See. Philip, seeing that he had been made, at great cost to himself, the mere tool of the pontiff's ambition, remonstrated and complained, but to no purpose. He then appealed to the barons ; and their superstition yielding to loyalty, love of fame, and interest, they vowed to aid him in his attempt on England. The Earl of Flanders, a secret ally of John's, having refused, Philip, swearing that France should be Flanders or Flanders France, invaded that province. But Longsword, earl of Salisbury, John's natural brother, went over with the English fleet of five hundred sail ; and, attacking that of the French as it was moving along the coast, destroyed one hundred ships, and took three hundred more. Philip, unable to save the rest, was obliged to burn them himself, and thus abandon all hopes of the conquest of Flanders.

The court of Rome removed her anathemas in order, as she had laid them on in order. The sentence of deposition was taken off, by admitting John to do homage. When he went to meet Langton and the prelates at Winchester, at their return on the 20th of July, he threw himself on the ground before them, and with tears implored them to have pity on him and the realm. The primate then led him into the chapter-house ; and, having administered to him an oath of obedience to the pope, and of good government of his kingdom, gave him absolution, and admitted him to dine with him, to the great joy of the people. The interdict, however, was kept on till satisfaction for

their losses should be made to the clergy; but the Bishop of Tusculum, who came over as legate on this and other accounts, partially relaxed it, by allowing mass to be performed with a low voice in the churches. When inquiry was made, the clergy rated their losses at a sum which amazed the king. He offered one hundred thousand marks (\$320,000) for a receipt in full: they refused; but the king directed his prelate to be content with forty thousand (\$128,000). The result was, that the superior clergy were indemnified, while the claims of the inferior clergy were treated with neglect. The legate at length, on the 29th of June, 1214, took off the interdict, which had lain on the kingdom for upward of six years.

An extensive confederacy against the King of France having been formed by the sovereigns of Germany and England, and the earls of Flanders, Toulouse, and other princes, John landed an army at La Rochelle, and recovered Poitou. But the battle of Bouvines, on the 27th of July, in which Philip, with a far inferior force, defeated one hundred and fifty thousand Germans, Flemings, and English, dissipated all the prospects of John. On receiving the news of this disaster, he re-embarked his troops without delay, having obtained a five years' truce from the King of France.

In his contests with the pope and the King of France, John had met with nothing but loss, disgrace, and humiliation. It only remained for him to be humbled by his own subjects. The author and prime mover of the resistance to the arbitrary power of the crown, which laid the true foundation of English liberty, was the primate Langton: and since it is not given to us to read the heart of man, and we can only judge of his motives by his acts, we may not, with justice, deem the prelate to have been actuated by any motives but love of equity and sincere patriotism; and his name should therefore be always held in veneration by the English nation.

Langton thus proceeded. In the oath which he administered to the king previous to his absolution, he

made him swear to restore the good laws of King Edward. On the 4th of August following, in a council held at St. Albans, under Fitz-Peters the justiciary, orders were given that the laws of Henry I. should be followed; and on the 25th of the same month, at a meeting of prelates and barons at St. Paul's in London, Langton showed them that monarch's charter, and explained to them its applicability to their grievances. John, on hearing of this, despatched an envoy with a large sum of money to Rome; and Innocent, deeming it to be for his interest to support his vassal against his barons, sent, as we have seen, the Bishop of Tusculum to England. The affair of compensation to the clergy occupied the time till the king's expedition to France. Shortly after his return, the barons held a large meeting at the Abbey of Bury St. Edmund's on the 20th of November, 1214, under the pretence of keeping the festival of the saint, where Langton again exerted his eloquence, and they swore on the high altar to make war on the king till he should confirm their liberties by a charter. On the festival of the Epiphany, the 6th of January, 1215, they repaired to the king at London, and urged their demands; and he promised to give them his answer at Easter. In the interval he made some concessions to the church: he assumed the cross, to secure to himself the privileges of a crusader; he sent to summon his mercenaries from the Continent, and he directed the sheriffs to make the freemen in their counties take the oath of allegiance. Both parties had sent to Rome; but the pontiff openly took the side of the king, and wrote a circular to the barons, enjoining them to cease from hostility.

In Easter week, the barons, at the head of two thousand knights, with their esquires and other attendants, met at Stamford; and on Monday after (April 27) advanced to Brackley, within fifteen miles of Oxford, where the king then lay. He sent the primate and the earls of Pembroke and Warrenne to ascertain their demands. They were the same as before: the king, with an angry sneer, cried, "And why do they

not also demand my kingdom?" He then, in a fury, swore that he never would grant liberties which would make him a slave. He sent back the mediators with some offers, which the barons, regarding as evasions, would not hearken to. Pandolf and the Bishop of Exeter insisted that the primate was bound to excommunicate the barons: he replied, that if the king did not dismiss his foreign troops, he should deem it his duty to excommunicate *them*. John finally sent, offering to leave all matters to the decision of the pope and eight persons, to be chosen by the barons and himself. This also they refused; and, proclaiming themselves to be the army of God and of Holy Church, appointed Robert Fitz-Walter to be their general, and commenced operations by investing Northampton. After spending fifteen days before it, they raised the siege and advanced to Bedford, which Beauchamp, its governor, delivered up to them; and hither deputies came, inviting them to London. They set out at once, marched all night, and reached that city in the morning of May 24. It being Sunday, the citizens were in the churches; but the gate named Aldgate stood open to admit them, and they occupied the city without opposition.

They now summoned all those who adhered to the king, or had not yet declared themselves, to join them, under the penalty of being treated as public enemies. Numbers immediately flocked to them. "It is needless," say the writers, "to name the barons who composed the army of God and of Holy Church: they were the whole nobility of England." John, who was now at Odiham in Hampshire, with a retinue of but seven knights, seeing resistance hopeless, resolved to dissemble. While he in secret wrote to excite the pope against them, he affected to yield to their demands with cheerfulness. At Merton, on the 8th of June, he granted a safe-conduct to the deputies of the barons, who were to meet him at Staines; and on Trinity Monday, June 15, both parties appeared on the mead named Runnymede, on the banks of the Thames, between Staines and Windsor. On the one side

stood Fitz-Walter and the flower of the English nobility: on the other, the king, attended by Pandolf the legate, eight bishops, and fifteen barons and knights. The barons presented in writing the heads of their grievances, and of the means of redress: these were, according to usage, reduced to the form of a charter. The king affixed his seal to it on the 19th of June, and issued it as a royal grant, and copies were sent all through the kingdom. Aware of the king's perfidy, the barons farther required that all foreign officers and their families should be sent out of the realm; the city and Tower of London left in their hands till the 15th of August; and a committee of twenty-five barons appointed as guardians of the charter, with power to make war on the king if he violated it. When the king had assented, the barons renewed their homage.

By the Great Charter, *Magna Charta*, as it is named, the church was secured in its liberties and rights, the barons were relieved by the regulation of the feudal burdens of aids, scutages, wardships, &c., and their sub-vassals were assured the same advantages by their lords; London and the other cities and boroughs were guarantied their ancient liberties and usages, and secured against arbitrary taxation; foreign merchants were protected; no man was to be imprisoned or outlawed but "by the legal judgment of his peers or by the law of the land." Again, says the king, "We will sell, delay, or deny justice to none;" and to regulate fines, it is added, "a freeman shall be amerced according to his offence saving his freehold, a merchant saving his merchandise, and a villain saving his waggonage." The court of Common Pleas was to be stationary, and the forest-laws were mitigated.

Such is a faint outline of this celebrated charter, the foundation on which the noble edifice of English liberty was raised; for it contains the germe of every subsequent improvement that has been made. The names of Langton, Fitz-Walter, and the other eminent men who forced it from a reluctant tyrant, must be held in everlasting honour; for they thought not of

themselves alone ; they cast the shield of protection over the rights and interests of all, even of the stranger. The blessings which have flowed from Magna Charta are hardly to be appreciated. To use the glowing words of a philosopher and an historian,* "To all mankind it set the first example of the progress of a great people for centuries, in blending their tumultuary democracy and haughty nobility with a fluctuating and vaguely-limited monarchy, so as at length to form from these discordant materials the only form of free government which experience had then shown to be reconcilable with widely-extended dominions. Whoever, in any future age or unborn nation, may admire the felicity of the expedient which converted the power of taxation into the shield of liberty, by which discretionary and secret imprisonment was rendered impracticable, and portions of the people were trained to exercise a larger share of judicial power than had been ever allotted to them in any other civilized state, in such a manner as to secure instead of endangering public tranquillity ; whoever exults at the spectacle of enlightened and independent assemblies, which, under the eye of a well-informed nation, discuss and determine the laws and policy likely to make communities great and happy ; whoever is capable of comprehending all the effects of such institutions, with all their possible improvements, upon the mind and genius of a people, is sacredly bound to speak with reverential gratitude of the authors of the Great Charter. To have produced it, to have preserved it, to have matured it, constitute the immortal claim of England on the esteem of mankind."

John had behaved to his barons with the utmost courtesy, and even set his seal to the charter with a smile. But when they were gone he gave vent to his smothered rage : he cursed the day of his birth, gnashed his teeth, rolled his eyes, and gnawed sticks and straws, acting like a maniac. He then began to

* Mackintosh, *History of England*, i., 188, Harpers' edition. See also Hallam's judicious remarks on this subject.

think on revenge: he sent to implore the aid of his liege lord at Rome, and despatched some of his friends to hire for him bodies of the mercenaries, then so numerous in France and Flanders. Meantime the barons, in the exultation of success, had appointed a splendid tournament to be holden at Stamford on the 2d of July; when, to their surprise, they learned that it was the king's intention to take advantage of their absence to seize the city of London. They put off the tournament, and sent to the king at Winchester, who laughed at their suspicions. Various conferences were appointed: the king, who only sought to gain time, eluded them; and at length, on the 1st of September, went to Dover to meet the mercenaries, who now were flocking fast to his standard. The barons, in alarm, directed William d'Albiny to occupy the Castle of Rochester. The king forthwith laid siege to it; and, as the castle was unprovided with stores, Albiny was obliged to surrender on the 30th of November. John was about to hang the whole garrison; but the leader of his mercenaries, who feared retaliation, prevented him. However, though he spared the knights, he executed their followers.

While engaged in the siege of Rochester, John learned that, as he expected, the pontiff had declared in his favour, and absolved him from his oaths. As the barons took no heed of the holy father's mandates, he formally excommunicated them by name on the 16th of December, declaring them to be worse than Saracens. The king, on his side, having divided his army at St. Albans, sent his brother, the Earl of Salisbury, with one part, to ravage the eastern counties, while he marched in person with the remainder northward. The northern barons, at his approach, in January, 1216, set fire to their houses and corn, and fled into Scotland, to whose king they did homage. John ravaged the country in a most dreadful manner: the inhabitants were tortured, massacred, and pillaged; towns and villages were burned, the king usually giving the example by setting fire in the morning to the house in which he had passed the night. He pene-

trated to Edinburgh, wasting and destroying Scotland also. Similar atrocities were perpetrated by the Earl of Salisbury and the hordes he commanded.

The barons, who were now at London, seeing the king at the head of a force which they could not resist, their castles taken, and their lands granted away to the leaders of mercenaries, resolved, after some days' anxious deliberation, to call in foreign aid; and sent to offer the crown to Louis, son of the King of France, the husband of the Princess Blanche. Louis, setting at naught the anathema launched at him by the pontiff, sailed from Calais with a fleet of six hundred and eighty ships, and landed at Sandwich on the 30th of May. John, who lay with his army at Dover, had retired to Bristol, wasting the country on his way. Louis advanced to London, where he received the homage of his new subjects on the 2d of June. John's mercenaries now left him in great numbers; several of his barons went and did homage to Louis; and among them was his brother, the Earl of Salisbury. He also lost his main support, the pope, who died at this time, July 16. The legate Gualo, however, was strenuous in his cause, and he still held all the fortresses in the kingdom. Louis awakened the suspicions of the English barons by grants to his own followers; and it was whispered that he had a design to destroy them as traitors. John made lavish promises; many barons went over to him, and his affairs were brightening, when, as he was crossing the Wash on his way from Lynn, the wagons containing his treasure were swallowed up by the tide and the stream of the Welland. He came, with a heavy heart, to the monastery of Swinestead, where he was seized by a fever, caused by anxiety or a surfeit, or, as some said, by poison; and, four days after, on the 19th of October, he breathed his last at Newark, in the forty-ninth year of his age, leaving behind him a character equally odious, despicable, and atrocious: his numerous vices being unredeemed by a single good or great quality.

With respect to John's surrender of his kingdom to

the pope, we must in justice observe, that it derived much of the odium which attaches to it from his personal character, and from the future encroachments of the papal see. His nobles assented to it, and never made it a ground of reproach to him. His father had done the same, so also had the King of Aragon, and the Norman monarchs of Naples and Sicily; and his brother Richard had declared himself a vassal of the empire. Vassalage, we must recollect, was no dishonour in those days, even to the highest.

CHAPTER IV.

HENRY III. (OF WINCHESTER).*

1216-1272.

Submission of the Barons.—Hugh de Burgh.—War with the King of France.—Exertions of the Pope.—Efforts to restrain the King's Prodigality.—Simon de Montfort.—The Mad Parliament.—Battle and Mise of Lewes.—Origin of the House of Commons.—Escape of Prince Edward.—Defeat and Death of Leicester.—Statutes of Marlbridge.—Death of the King.

HENRY, called of Winchester, the place of his birth, the heir to the throne, was but ten years of age when his father died. The prelates and barons of the royal party resolved on his immediate coronation; and the ceremony was performed at Gloucester, on the 28th of October, in the presence of the legate; the young monarch at the same time doing homage, and swearing fealty to the pontiff. On account of his tender years, the care of his person and the government of the realm were committed to the Earl of Pembroke, earl-marshal, with the title of "Governor of the King and Kingdom."[†]

Henry, though a child, was a more formidable rival

* Authorities the same as before.

† *Rector regis et regni.*

to Louis than his father had been. His tender years inspired pity. "We have persecuted his father for evil demeanour, and worthily," said the marshal, at the coronation; "but this young child whom ye see before you, as he is in years tender, so is he innocent of his father's doings." The marshal himself was a man of great probity, talent, and energy; and the legate had directions to uphold the minor's cause with all his authority. The Great Charter was confirmed in a council holden at Bristol on the 12th of November; their liberties were secured to all who should return to their allegiance; and soon the Earl of Salisbury, William d'Albiny, and several knights, came and ranged themselves beneath the royal banner.

By the surrender of two castles, the regent obtained from Louis a truce till the following Easter. At its expiration, on the 30th of April, 1217, as the royalists had laid siege to the castle of Montsorel, the troops of Louis and the barons, numbering six hundred knights and twenty thousand footmen, marched from London to its relief, wasting and plundering the country on their way. The royalists retired at their approach; and they entered Lincoln in triumph, and laid siege to the castle, which was defended by a heroine named Nichola de Camville. Pembroke assembled an army at Newark, and marched to her relief. Deceived by the apparent magnitude of his forces, the hostile army remained in the town; and while, by way of bravado, they were pressing the siege of the castle, the regent's troops burst open one of the gates and entered the town. A rally was at the same time made from the castle; and, assailed on all sides, they were forced to give way. The common men were massacred without mercy; and three earls, eleven barons, and two thirds of the knights were made captives. The town was given up to pillage. The women and children had sought refuge on board of the boats in the river; but their weight sunk them, and most of the fugitives perished.

This victory, named "The Fair of Lincoln," secured the crown to Henry. The only hopes of Louis now

lay in the troops which his wife was collecting for him in France. These troops embarked on the 24th of August, on board of a fleet of eighty large and a great number of small vessels, at Calais; but Hubert de Burgh, the justiciary, put to sea with but forty ships; and, boldly attacking them, gave them so total a defeat that but fifteen escaped. Louis was now obliged to seek his safety in negotiation. A treaty was signed at Lambeth on the 11th of September, by which he and his foreign troops were allowed to depart, and an amnesty was granted to his English adherents. The barons all returned to their allegiance, and the Great Charter was again confirmed.*

The death of the able and virtuous earl-marshal, which occurred the very next year, 1219, was a general misfortune. The custody of the royal person was then committed to Peter des Roches, a Poitevin, whom John had made bishop of Winchester; and the exercise of the royal authority was intrusted to Hubert de Burgh the justiciary. These ministers were rivals: the one favoured the native families, the other united himself with the foreigners whom John had introduced into the kingdom. Pandolf, who was returned as legate, held the balance between them.

As a means of recovering the crown lands and the royal castles from those who held them, the legate, at the desire of De Burgh and the council, in 1223 declared the young king of age to dispose of his lands, castles, and wards. Hubert instantly required the surrender of the royal castles. The Earl of Albemarle and some others resisted: Hubert levied troops; but the legate caused them to be excommunicated, and they were obliged to submit. One of John's foreign favourites, named Fawkes de Breauté, who held the Castle of Bedford, having had several verdicts found against him for the violent expulsion of persons from their lands, had the audacity to seize one of the judges, and imprison him at Bedford. As

* The portions of the Great Charter relating to the forests were now withdrawn; and a separate Charter of Forests, with mitigated penalties, was enacted.

he was a partisan of Des Roches, the justiciary resolved that he should not go unpunished. He led a force, in which the king was present in person, and besieged the Castle of Bedford. After a brave defence it was forced to surrender; and, to deter others, all in it but the archers were hanged. Fawkes, who was at Chester, was forced to give himself up to the king's mercy; and he was stripped of his property, and banished from the kingdom with his family. Shortly after the Bishop of Winchester also withdrew, under the pretext of a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

Hubert now ruled without control for several years, and every day augmented his wealth by the grants which he obtained from the crown. At length, in 1232, the aspect of his affairs began to change; Des Roches returned, and was received with great favour by the king; complaints of Hubert's avarice and ambition were poured into the royal ear; and finally, when, on occasion of an inroad of the Welsh, the king complained of want of money, it was hinted to him that, by making Hubert and his relations disgorge their gains, his wants might easily be supplied. Hubert was forthwith called on to account for the wardships, royal rents, and other revenues which had passed through his hands since he had been made justiciary. Conscious of guilt or despairing of justice, he took sanctuary at Merton. By the king's orders, the Mayor of London set out, at the head of twenty thousand citizens, to drag him from the sanctuary; but he changed his mind, and gave him five months to prepare his defence. Hubert took advantage of his liberty to go to visit his wife at Bury St. Edmund's; and a body of three hundred horse was sent to fetch him back and place him in the Tower. Hubert, who was in bed when he heard of their approach, jumped up and fled, undressed as he was, to the nearest church, where he stood on the steps of the altar, holding the host in one hand and a cross in the other. But his pursuers seized him, placed him on a horse, with his legs tied under the belly, and thus led him to London. The king, however, in awe of the church, sent him back to his

sanctuary ; giving the sheriff of Essex strict charge to seize him if he attempted to escape. A ditch and paling were made round the church ; and on the fortieth day Hubert was forced to surrender himself. He was placed in the Tower, and then brought to trial : he made, however, no defence, throwing himself on the mercy of the king. He was sentenced to forfeit the greater part of his property, and to be confined in the castle of Devizes. But the next year, 1233, on occasion of a quarrel between the king and his barons, the charge of this castle being given to a retainer of the Bishop of Winchester, Hubert, fearing for his life, let himself drop down one night into the moat, and then took refuge in a church. Here he was instantly besieged by the sheriff ; but, in a few days, a party of horse came, who drove off the sheriff, and conveyed Hubert to the Earl of Pembroke in Wales. The next year, 1234, when peace was made between the king and the barons, Hubert was restored to his estates and honours. It does not appear that he ever again engaged in affairs of state.

The rising of the barons which restored Hubert to liberty, was caused by the insolence of the Bishop of Winchester, who now engrossed the king's favour. This prelate invited over vast numbers of his countrymen ; the chief offices of state were conferred on them, and the royal revenues were employed to enrich them. The indignant barons refused to attend the king's council, unless the foreigners were dismissed ; adding, that if the king should persist in favouring them, they would drive both him and them out of the kingdom, and put the crown on a head more worthy to wear it. The king and bishop, however, by detaching some of the leading members, broke up their confederacy. William, earl-marshal, having fled to Ireland, orders were sent to the lords justices there, to send him, "dead or alive," to England. As the shorter mode, they engaged, it is said, a surgeon, who was called in to cure some of his old wounds, to cauterize them in such a manner as to cause his death. Peter des Roches now went on in his violent course,

dreading no opposition ; but the influence before which he fell came from a quarter whence perhaps he least expected it. Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, attended by several other prelates, came to the king in 1234, and, having set before him the dangerous consequences, both to himself and his people, of the course which he was pursuing, insisted on the dismissal of the foreigners, menacing an excommunication in case of refusal. The king was terrified, and submitted ; the foreigners were banished, and a ministry was formed, in which the primate, a man of great prudence and integrity, was included.

A celebrated historian, and one who cannot be suspected of an undue partiality to the clergy, has thus expressed himself on an occasion similar to the present ; and their conduct in this and the preceding reign amply confirms the truth of his observations.

“It must be acknowledged, that the influence of the prelates and the clergy was often of great service to the public. Though the religion of that age can merit no better name than that of superstition, it served to unite together a body of men who had great sway over the people, and who kept the community from falling to pieces by the factions and independent power of the nobles. And, what was of great importance, it threw a mighty authority into the hands of men who, by their profession, were averse to arms and violence ; who tempered, by their mediation, the general disposition towards military enterprises, and who still maintained, amid the shock of arms, those secret links without which it is impossible for human society to subsist.”

But the evil from which the primate had delivered the kingdom speedily reappeared. In 1236 the king married Eleanor, daughter of the Count of Provence. Nothing, we are assured, could exceed the splendour of the queen's coronation ; and all ranks vied with each other in their demonstrations of joy and loyalty. But a large number of foreigners appeared in her train ; and the weak, good-natured king soon began to shower his favours on them. Her uncle William, the bishop

elect of Valence, became prime minister; Richard, another uncle, received the manor of Richmond and the rich wardship of Earl Warrenne; and Boniface, a third uncle, was made, on the death of Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury. Young ladies were brought over from Provence, and married to the king's wealthy wards. Henry's own mother, Isabella, who had married her first lover, the Count of La Marche, sent over her children by him, that they might have their share of the good things that were bestowed; and the soft-hearted Henry took care to provide for them all.

The throne of France was at this time occupied by Louis IX., one of the most just and upright of sovereigns. His father, Louis VIII., had bound himself to restore Normandy and Anjou; but, so far from doing so, he had invaded and conquered Poitou. The troubles of the early part of Henry's reign had prevented him from making any efforts to recover his dominions; but in 1230 he landed in person at St. Malo, and advanced as far as Nantes, though nothing of any importance occurred. Twelve years after, in 1242, the Count of La Marche having done homage to Alphonse, whom his brother, the King of France, had made Count of Poitou, was so stung by the reproaches of his wife, that he returned to Poitiers and bade him defiance. A war was the natural result. Isabella applied to her son for aid; and Henry summoned a great council, and demanded a supply of men and money; but the barons told him it was his duty to observe the truce while it was observed by the French king. Isabella still urged; asserting that his presence alone would suffice. Henry therefore embarked, with his brother and his queen, taking with him three hundred knights, and thirty casks of silver.

Henry landed at Royan on the Gironde, whither his Gascon vassals repaired to him; and, with a force of twenty thousand men, he advanced to the town of Taillebourg, on the Charente. Louis, who had hastened from Paris, reached that place at the same time with a far superior force. The French, with their usual impetuosity, attacked and carried the bridge

which the Gascons held, on the 19th of July, and passed over in great numbers. Henry's troops, however, maintained the fight bravely, till news came that a large body of the enemy had crossed the river lower down. Fearing to be cut off, they then broke and fled for Saintes, and the king himself narrowly escaped captivity. Next morning the French appeared before that town, when the Count of La Marche sallied forth, and an indecisive action was fought. But the count now saw the danger of his situation, and resolved to make terms for himself, if possible, with Louis. By means of his son he succeeded. Henry was just sitting down to table, when he heard what the count had done; and, at the same moment, he learned that the townsmen had agreed to admit the French troops in the night. It was resolved to fly without delay to Blaye; and so rapid was the flight, that the military chest and the costly ornaments of the king's chapel were left behind. Louis did not pursue, as a dysentery had begun to prevail in his army; and a truce for five years was made shortly afterward. The conscientious Louis, doubting of the justice of the title by which he held the English possessions in France, was most anxious to obtain a renunciation of them from Henry, who on his side demanded an equivalent. At length, in 1259, after many years of negotiation, an arrangement was effected. Henry made the renunciation; receiving in return the Limousin, Perigord, and Querci, and the reversion of the Agenois and part of Saintonge. He then did homage as Duke of Guienne and a peer of France.

In all his difficulties at home and abroad, the feeble king placed his chief reliance on the power and authority of the pope; to whose ambition and avarice he in return yielded himself as a ready instrument. This was, in the main, most advantageous to the cause of freedom; for the clergy, as sharers in the common evil, united with the barons in their opposition to the crown. The pope, who, in consequence of the contest which he had engaged in with the Emperor Frederic II., was immersed in debt, had recourse to every

possible mode of extracting money from the clergy. By appeals to their generosity and duty he obtained large sums. These not sufficing, he proceeded, in imitation of the temporal princes, to levy tallages on them. The frequency of these exhausted the patience of the English clergy. They remonstrated; the barons, and even the king, took part with them; but still the pope triumphed, and they were obliged to pay. Another grievance of the clergy was what were called Provisions, by which the pope, regardless of the rights of patrons, assumed the power of appointing to vacant benefices. In consequence of this, a large portion of the richest livings were in the hands of Italians; who, after providing, at a small expense, for the performance of the duty, drew the rest of the income out of the kingdom. The pope himself acknowledged that the benefices thus held amounted to 50,000 marks a year: a sum exceeding the revenues of the crown; and the fact that Mansel, the king's chaplain, held seven hundred livings, will give an idea of the extent to which pluralism was carried. An association, named the Commonalty of England, was formed in 1232 to oppose the Provisions; and its head was a knight named Robert Twinge, who had been deprived, by a provision, of his right of nomination to a living. The principal of the barons and clergy secretly favoured it; and, though it did not number more than eighty members, it became very formidable to those against whom it was directed. The papal couriers were murdered; the foreign clergy were seized, thrown into private dungeons, and obliged to pay heavy ransoms; and the produce of their farms was carried off, and sold by auction or distributed among the poor. After this had continued for eight months the king interfered. Twinge went to Rome to plead his cause. The pope acknowledged his right to nominate, and declared that provisions should be in future confined to the benefices that were in the gift of spiritual bodies: thus artfully seeking to separate the interests of the laity from those of the clergy. In this, however, he did not quite succeed: the spirited conduct of Robert Gros-

seteste, the illustrious Bishop of Lincoln, who, in 1253, absolutely refused to admit a provision into his diocese, gave a check to the practice.

The pope soon made a new attempt on the property of the clergy and laity of England. At the time when the Normans made the conquest of the kingdom of Naples, they had subjected it as a fief to the holy see. It had passed by marriage to the emperors of Germany, between whom and the popes there had long been unceasing enmity, open or concealed. On the death of Frederic II. in 1254, the pope, as the superior lord, and urged by his hatred of the German princes, made an offer of the crown to Richard, earl of Cornwall, Henry's brother, esteemed the richest subject in Europe. The earl was too prudent to be caught by the dazzling offer. The pope then offered the crown to the king himself, for his younger son Edmund; and the thoughtless Henry at once swallowed the glittering bait. He engaged to land with an army in Italy, and bound himself to defray the whole expenses of the war. These soon became considerable; for success was uniformly on the side of Manfred, the natural son of Frederic, who now maintained the imperial cause. Henry applied to his barons to aid him in 1256, but they saw through the designs of the pope, and refused to contribute a shilling. Pope and king then fell on the unfortunate clergy. The former granted the latter a tenth of all the benefices in England for five years, the goods of all the clergy who died intestate, and the revenues of all vacant benefices and of non-residents. He also placed at his disposal the proceeds of the crusade which he ordered to be preached against Manfred. The Bishop of Hereford, who was at Rome, drew bills to the amount of 150,540 marks (\$482,000) on the prelates and abbots of England, in favour of some Italian bankers; and, as it was expected that they would prove rather restiff, the legate had orders to exert his authority to the utmost over them. When he called them together, and told them the pleasure of the pope and king, their surprise and indignation knew

no bounds. The Bishop of Worcester vowed that he would sooner die than yield; and the Bishop of London declared, that, if the king and pope should take the mitre off his head, he would put a helmet in its place. The legate told them that all their benefices belonged to the pope, and that he might dispose of them as he pleased. He finally menaced them with excommunication; and they were constrained to yield. All the favour they could obtain was permission to deduct the amount of the bills out of the tenths they were to pay. Still the money did not suffice for the pope; and, as Henry could raise no more, the pontiff transferred the crown to Charles of Anjou, brother to the King of France, who slew Manfred in battle, and gained the kingdom in 1266.

The high spirit of the English barons could ill brook the manner in which the numerous grants which they had been induced to give to their thoughtless monarch had been squandered away in inglorious projects of ambition, or lavished on foreign favourites; and various attempts were made to restrain the royal extravagance. In 1242, when about to grant a supply, they required that it should be placed in one of the king's castles, under the custody of four barons to be appointed by the great council; and in 1244, on a similar occasion, they demanded that four barons should be declared "Conservators of the liberties of the nation," two of whom should always attend the king, watch over the expenditure, and control the administration of justice; and that the chancellor, the justiciary, two justices of the king's bench, and two barons of the exchequer, should be chosen by the council, and hold their places independent of the crown. The king would only consent to renew the Great Charter; and when he had got the supplies, he thought no more of his word. In 1248, when he again demanded a supply, he met only with reproaches for his breach of faith and oppression of his people: money was positively refused.

Want of money again, in 1253, compelling Henry to beg a supply, he took the vow of a crusader, under

the sanctity of which he deemed himself sure of some part of his subjects' money. The clergy deputed the primate and the bishops of Winchester, Salisbury, and Carlisle, to remonstrate with him on his oppression of both them and the people. Among other grievances, they noticed the improper mode of appointing to vacant dignities. The king, who wanted not wit, deficient as he was in good sense, replied, "It is true I have in this been somewhat to blame: I obtruded you, my Lord of Canterbury, on your see; I employed both threats and promises, my Lord of Winchester, to have you elected: I acted very irregularly, my lords of Salisbury and Carlisle, when I raised you from the lowest stations to your present dignities. But I will correct these abuses; and you too, to make the reform complete, ought to resign, and try to be re-elected in a more regular manner." They said that the question was not to correct past errors, but to prevent their recurrence. The king promised as before, and a supply was granted; but it was required that he should confirm the charter in a more solemn manner than had yet been employed. The bishops and abbots all stood, holding lighted tapers in their hands; the Great Charter was read aloud; they pronounced the sentence of excommunication against whomsoever should violate it; and then, casting their tapers on the ground, they exclaimed, "May the soul of him who incurs this sentence thus stink and corrupt in hell!" The king, who, during the reading, had stood with a calm and cheerful countenance, holding his hand on his heart, replied, "So help me God, as I shall observe and keep all these things, as I am a Christian man, as I am a knight, as I am a king crowned and anointed!" Yet, incapable of energy enough to keep a promise, he immediately returned to his old courses.

Hitherto Henry had been supported by the advice and influence of his brother, the Earl of Cornwall, a man of energy and talent far superior to his own; but he now lost that support. The earl, whose good sense had led him to reject the diadem of Naples, was

not proof against the offer of that of Germany. He went to that country, taking with him his immense treasures, which he speedily squandered in pursuit of the splendid phantom; for, though he was crowned King of the Romans in 1257, he never was able to make his authority acknowledged. His absence from England left the king unsustained, and the barons confederated to limit and restrain the royal authority.

The most eminent man among the barons at this time was Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, a Frenchman by birth, and younger son to the cruel fanatic who headed the nefarious crusade which Innocent III. had preached against the sect of the Albigenses in the south of France. De Montfort was married to the eldest sister of the Earl of Leicester, on whose death without issue his estates went to his sisters. The title of Leicester fell, of course, to the sons of the Countess de Montfort; and, as the eldest would not for the sake of it give up the dignities he held in France, he resigned in favour of his brother Simon, who thus became Earl of Leicester, and soon after, in 1238, espoused the king's sister, the dowager Countess of Pembroke. The barons were highly indignant at this match; but the talents and address of Leicester were such that he rapidly won their affections, and those of all orders of the people. Henry committed to him the government of Guienne, which he ruled for some years with great vigour. He was recalled to answer charges made against him by the Archbishop of Bordeaux and some of the Gascon nobility. In the interview with the king, the latter, giving way to anger, called him a traitor. "Ha! traitor!" cried Leicester; "if you were not a king you should repent that insult." "I shall never," replied Henry, "repent anything so much as having let you grow and fatten within my dominions." The efforts of mutual friends, however, reconciled them for the present.

Leicester, who enjoyed a high degree of consideration with all orders of the people, formed at length, in conjunction with Humphrey de Bohun, high constable, Roger Bigod, earl-marshal, the earls of War-

wick, Derby, and Gloucester, and the other great barons, a regular confederacy for limiting the royal authority. When, in 1258, the king, in extreme want of money for his Sicilian war, summoned a great council to Westminster, the barons appeared at it in full armour. On the entrance of the king they laid aside their swords. "Am I then a prisoner?" cried Henry, in alarm. "No, sir," replied the earl-marshal: "but by your prodigality to foreigners the realm is plunged in misery. We therefore require that the powers of government be intrusted to a committee of prelates and barons, who may correct abuses and make good laws." After some dispute the king assented; and it was agreed that a great council should be holden at Oxford, to make all the needful regulations.

The council, which, from the consequence of its acts, was afterward named the Mad Parliament, met at Oxford on the 11th of June. The barons came attended by their vassals in arms; and as the king had no military force, he was obliged to submit to their dictation. A committee of twenty-four prelates and barons was appointed; one half selected from the king's council, the other half chosen by the barons. Each twelve then selected two out of the other twelve; and these four had the selection of fifteen persons, who were to form the council of state. This council consisted of seven of each party, with Boniface the primate, the queen's uncle, at its head. The king's brother and nephew, who were of the twenty-four, were carefully excluded from it; so that the influence of the reformers was paramount. They forthwith removed the chancellor, the justiciary, the treasurer, and the governors of the principal royal castles, and replaced them by men devoted to the barons. They then commenced their measures of reform, which were as follows. The freeholders of each county were to choose four knights, to inquire into the damages committed in it under the royal authority, and lay them before the council; the freeholders were also to choose, each year, the high-sheriff for each county; the sheriffs and the great officers of

state were to give in their accounts annually; and parliaments* were to be holden thrice in each year. To secure the obedience of parliament, it was directed, under pretext of saving the members trouble and expense, that twelve persons should represent those who were to compose the parliament; and that whatever these should enact in conjunction with the council of state, should be viewed as the act of the whole.

One of the first acts of the council was to force the king's half-brothers to quit the kingdom. They then obliged the Earl of Warrenne, the most powerful man of the king's friends, and his nephew, King Henry, and finally his son, Prince Edward, now a spirited youth of eighteen years of age, to take an oath of obedience to the ordinances of the council; and when, in the following year, 1259, Leicester learned that the King of the Romans was on his return, he sent to prohibit him from landing, unless he would engage to take the oath also: a mandate which that prince found it necessary to obey.

By the original agreement, all the reforms were to have been completed by Christmas; but those who held the power were by no means willing to part with it so soon; and, under the pretext of farther important reforms being needful, they continued in office through all the next year, 1259. A quarrel between Leicester and Gloucester first shook their authority; and when, at length, the promised reforms were made public, they appeared so insignificant in the eyes of the people, that a great change took place in their affections towards the barons. Leicester, after his quarrel with the Earl of Gloucester, had retired to France; and so many of the barons went over to the king, that he found himself in a condition to resume his authority in 1261. A bull was easily obtained from Rome, absolving him from his oath. He displaced the justiciary, chancellor, and sheriffs appointed by the barons, and put others in their room, and

* This word had now come into use as equivalent to Great Council.

exercised all the functions of royalty. During the following year, 1262, various interviews took place between him and the barons; and it was proposed to refer their differences to the King of France and the King of the Romans. Leicester, who had returned, went back to France, declaring that he would never trust a perjured king.

Towards the end of the year Henry went over to visit the King of France. Leicester then returned to England, where the discontent of the barons had revived, in consequence, it is said, of Prince Edward's partiality for foreigners. He speedily reorganized the old confederacy, which was now joined by Prince Henry and by Gilbert de Clare, the young earl of Gloucester. Henry, on his return in 1263, having ordered the barons to swear fealty to both himself and his son, the Earl of Gloucester objected to the latter part, and retired to Oxford, where he was joined by the malcontent barons. Leicester came back and placed himself at their head. They took Worcester and some other towns, ravaged the lands of the royalists, and advanced towards London, where the people were generally in their favour. The king shut himself up in the Tower, and Prince Edward went to secure the castle of Windsor, whither the queen, his mother, was proceeding by water; but the populace assembled, assailed her with the vilest epithets, flung all kinds of filth into her barge, and prepared to sink it with huge stones as it should pass the bridge. She was obliged to have recourse to the mayor for protection, by whom she was placed in safety at St. Paul's.

The King of the Romans now attempted to mediate; but the power of the barons was so great, that the king was forced to resign nearly the whole of the authority he had resumed. Various causes, however, having brought over many barons to his side, he was able to take the field once more. On this occasion Leicester was nearly made a prisoner. He had entered Southwark with a small body of troops; the royalists secured the gates of London; the king ap-

peared at one side of Southwark, and the prince at the other. Leicester, deeming destruction certain, advised his followers to assume the cross, and prepare for death like Christians; but the king having, in compliance with the usages of the time, sent a herald to summon them to surrender, the populace had time to learn their danger; and, bursting open the city gates, to come and relieve them. The forces now being nearly equal on both sides, it was agreed to submit to the arbitration of the King of France. Henry appeared in person before that monarch: Leicester, on the plea of a fall from his horse, by attorney. The award of Louis was, that the Provisions of Oxford should be annulled, the king restored to his full authority, and that a general amnesty should take place. The pope confirmed the award, and directed the Archbishop of Canterbury to excommunicate all who should refuse to submit to it. This was in 1264. The barons, however, as soon as they heard of it, exclaiming that it was partial and unjust on the face of it, refused obedience, and resumed their arms. The city of London, the Cinque Ports, and the adjoining counties, were entirely in their favour; the parties were nearly balanced in the midland counties and in the marches of Wales; while the North and West of England were decidedly royalist. Leicester, by means of his devoted partisan Fitz-Thomas, the mayor of London, caused the citizens to enrol themselves in a military association; and a formal convention for mutual aid and support was sworn to by them and the principal barons. On this occasion the unhappy Jews at London and some other places were plundered and massacred: a measure which, no doubt, was of advantage to the circumstances of some of the confederate nobles. The property of the Lombards, or Italian bankers in London, also became a prey to the partisans of the barons.

The king, being joined by the Scottish border-lords, Bruis or Bruce of Annandale, Baliol of Galloway, and Comyn of Badenoch, and by the Percies of the North, the great houses of Bigod, Bohun, Warrenne, and

others of his own subjects, took the field once more. He took Northampton by assault; Leicester and Nottingham opened their gates; he then marched southward to the relief of Rochester, to which Leicester was laying siege. At the approach of the royal army, the earl, fearing for London, raised the siege and fell back to that city; while the king, having made an ineffectual effort to recall the people of the Cinque Ports to their allegiance, led his troops to Lewes in Sussex. Leicester now resolved to put the whole to the hazard of a battle. Having united fifteen thousand Londoners to his army, he led it towards Lewes. At Fletching he halted, and sent a letter to Henry, stating that it was not against *him*, but against his evil advisers, that they had taken arms. The reply was a defiance on the part of the king, the prince, and the King of the Romans; with a challenge from the last two to Leicester and Derby to meet them in the king's court, and decide the matter by single combat. Leicester then addressed his troops, representing to them their cause as that of justice and religion. He directed them to fix a white cross on their breast and shoulder (as if they were Crusaders), and to pass the night in devotion. In the morning the Bishop of Chichester pronounced a general absolution; assuring, according to usage, those who should fall of immediate admittance into heaven.

On the 14th of May, the baronial army appeared before Lewes; and the royal troops, in three divisions, led by the prince, the King of the Romans, and the king himself, advanced to give them battle. The prince, who led the van, falling with fury on the Londoners, who occupied that post of honour in the opposite army, speedily routed them, and drove them off the field. In his eagerness to punish them for their general turbulence, and for their insults to his mother, he lost sight of the rules of prudence, and pursued them for four miles, instead of falling on the rear of Leicester's troops. Leicester, taking advantage of the prince's error, directed his whole force against the main body of the royalists, defeated them,

and took the King of the Romans prisoner; then, charging the third division, scattered it, and obliged the king himself to surrender. Prince Edward, on his return from the pursuit of the Londoners, three thousand of whom had strewn the field with their bodies, found the battle irretrievably lost. As he traversed the field, the baronial troops came out and attacked him; the king's brothers, Earl Warrenne, and about seven hundred knights, instantly fled to Pevensey, and embarked for the Continent. The next morning a convention, named the "Mise of Lewes," was concluded, by which the prince and his cousin, Henry d'Allmaine,* agreed to surrender themselves as hostages for their fathers: all prisoners taken during the war were to be released, and arbitrators were to be chosen to regulate all the points of difference between the two parties. The number slain in the battle is said to have been five thousand on each side.

Leicester was now, in effect, the ruler of the kingdom. He carried the king about with him as a pageant, treating him with apparent respect, and employing his name and authority for his own purposes; he kept, in breach of treaty, the more energetic King of the Romans a close prisoner at Kenilworth, and the young princes were confined at Dover. If we may credit the chroniclers adverse to him and his cause, his rule was a complete tyranny; his ambition and his avarice knew no bounds. He seized, they say, for himself, the estates of not less than eighteen of the barons taken at Lewes, kept the ransom of the King of the Romans (though he was the Earl of Gloucester's prisoner), and that of all the other barons; while he told those of his own party that they should be content with having their lives and properties secured by the victory he had gained. He is even accused of having encouraged the piracy to which, to the ruin of all foreign trade, the people of the Cinque

* Allmaine is Allemagne. He was so called, because his father had been chosen by the electors of Germany.

Ports betook themselves, by receiving a third of their ill-gotten gains.

One of the earliest acts of Leicester's authority was sending persons, named "Conservators of the Peace," to each county, to execute the principal functions of the sheriffs, to whom, however, he left their offices. These conservators caused four knights to be chosen in each county, to represent it in a parliament, which met on the 23d of June, and which was consequently entirely devoted to Leicester. It was enacted in it that the king should, for the present, delegate the power of choosing his council to three persons, who should choose nine councillors, to be empowered to exercise nearly the whole royal authority; and if in any case the agreement of two thirds of the council could not be obtained, the matter should be reserved for the committee of three. As this committee was composed of Leicester himself, the Earl of Gloucester, and the Bishop of Exeter, and the council was, of course, selected from Leicester's creatures, it is quite plain that all that was proposed by this state machinery was to conceal the person of the real actor from the view of the people.

Leicester's power was nevertheless far from secure: the pope and the King of France were both hostile to him. The latter favoured the efforts of Henry's queen, to raise an army of mercenaries for the assertion of the royal cause; and the former directed the legate Guido to proceed to England, and excommunicate Leicester and the other enemies of the king. Leicester having menaced the legate with death if he should enter the kingdom, the bull was committed to four English prelates, with orders to publish it. As it was against their will that they received the bull, they easily let the officers at Dover take it from them; and, as an appeal was made to Rome, where the pope was just dead, nothing farther could be done for some time. Leicester was equally fortunate with respect to the queen's armament. This princess had collected at the port of Damme, in Flanders, a large body of troops, with shipping to carry

them ; but adverse winds prevailed so long, that they at length disbanded and dispersed, and Leicester was thus relieved from uneasiness on this account.

The commencement of the year 1265 is rendered for ever memorable by a measure destined to have the most important influence on the development of the British constitution ; and which, as it has been elegantly expressed, has "afforded proof from experience that liberty, order, power, and wealth are capable of being blended together, in a degree of harmony which the wisest men had not before believed to be possible." Hitherto the great councils of the nation had consisted only of the prelates, barons, and tenants in chief of the crown ; but Leicester, in the summons for a parliament at this time, directed "the sheriffs to elect and return two knights for each county, two citizens for each city, and two burgesses for each borough in the county : " thus establishing the principle of representation, and giving the people of the towns, who had hitherto been taxed at will, a share in the legislation of the realm. By a fortunate chance, also, they were allowed to sit along with the knights of the shire, and not in a separate chamber : a circumstance which greatly contributed to give them dignity and importance. That Leicester could have foreseen the full effects of what he was doing, is not to be supposed. The measure, however, was one which, in the natural course of things, must inevitably have occurred within a few years. Deputies of the towns had sat for the last century in the Cortes of Spain ; towns were everywhere rising into importance, and becoming of too great weight in the balance of states to be any longer subject to the arbitrary power of princes and nobles. Leicester may doubtless have seen much of this ; but his probable motive was, merely to add to the parliament members who he knew would be wholly devoted to himself, and the ready agents of his will.

As Leicester had summoned to this parliament none of the prelates and barons but such as were devoted to him, everything was done at his pleasure.

After some weeks' conference, an arrangement was made with the king and the prince, preparatory to the liberation of the latter, in which every precaution for securing the continuance of Leicester's power was taken. The prince was then, on the 13th of March, declared free by the barons; but he found his liberty only nominal, as he was still guarded by the adherents of Leicester.

The power of this nobleman, though thus great, could not, from its nature, be permanent. He was a foreigner, and, at most, but the equal of those proud nobles over whom he had raised himself; and, though a large portion of the clergy, irritated by the frauds and extortions of the holy see, supported him as the champion of religion, and the people of the towns and the lower orders in general were his partisans, their weight was not yet able to counterpoise that of the great barons. Yet he at first crushed all symptoms of resistance, and forced Roger de Mortimer, and the other marchers of Wales, to surrender their castles and submit to the sentence of parliament, by which they were required to quit the kingdom for various periods. He then ventured to imprison the Earl of Derby, under a charge of treason, and meditated seizing the Earl of Gloucester at a tournament at Northampton; but the earl, aware of his danger, retired to his own county, and there raised the royal standard. Leicester hastened to Hereford with the king, the prince, and a large body of knights; and negotiations were entered into, by which each party sought to deceive the other. The great object of Gloucester was to liberate the prince, whose presence would be of the utmost importance to his cause; and it was thus effected. Edward, under pretence of taking an airing, obtained permission one day after dinner to ride out of Hereford. At some distance from the town he proposed to his keepers to run races with their horses. They agreed; and several matches were made and run; the prince and those in the secret taking care not to engage in them. By the time the keepers' horses were pretty well tired, it being near sunset, a

man, mounted on a gray horse, appeared on the summit of an adjacent hill, and waved his bonnet. The prince, knowing the signal, set spurs to his horse and galloped off, attended by Gloucester's brother, another knight, and four esquires. The keepers pursued; but when they saw Roger Mortimer and a party of armed men issue from a wood and receive the prince, they turned back. Mortimer conducted the prince to his Castle of Wigmore; and next day Edward met Gloucester at Ludlow. They mutually agreed to forget all past injuries, and exert themselves to restore the king, who should bind himself to govern by law, and to exclude foreigners from his councils.

The first care of the royalists was to gain the towns on the Severn, and break down the bridges over that river. Leicester, being thus cooped up in Hereford, lay waiting for the tenants of the crown, whom he had summoned by writs in the king's name; and he formed an alliance with Llewellyn prince of Wales, agreeing to sell him, for 30,000 marks (\$96,000), all the king's rights over that country. When joined by the Welshmen, he attempted to get over to Bristol; but, being attacked at Newport by Prince Edward, he retired, and sought refuge in Wales. His son Simon de Montfort, who was besieging Pevensey when he received the summons to repair to the standard, having stopped for some days at Kenilworth, the family mansion, was suddenly fallen on by the prince while in his bed: most of his companions were made prisoners, and he himself escaped into the castle.*

Leicester, ignorant of the fate of his son, had crossed the Severn, and reached Evesham on his way to Kenilworth. The prince, who was at Worcester, set out in the night; and, early in the morning of the 4th of August, arrived in the neighbourhood of Evesham. He made three divisions of his forces; of which one, led by himself, stood on a hill on the road to Kenilworth, and the other divisions, led by Gloucester and

* They lay out of the castle, say the *Annals of Mailros*, for the sake of bathing early in the morning.

Mortimer, occupied the two remaining roads. They displayed the banners captured at Kenilworth, which caused them at first to be taken for the troops of Simon de Montfort; but when Leicester ascended an eminence, and viewed their numbers and array, he saw the mistake, and said to those about him, "The Lord have mercy on our souls, for our bodies are Prince Edward's." Having, according to his usual custom, spent some time in prayer, and communicated, he charged the prince's division. Being repulsed, he formed his men in a circle, and thus, for some time, resisted all the efforts of the royalists. The old king, whom he still had with him, was placed in the front, cased in armour. One of the royalists, not knowing who he was, wounded and unhorsed him, and would probably have slain him, but that he cried out, "Hold, fellow! I am Henry of Winchester!" and the prince, who was at hand, hearing his voice, ran up and conveyed him to a place of safety. Meantime Leicester's horse was killed under him; and, as he fought on foot, he asked if they gave quarter. "Not to traitors!" was the reply; and he soon fell slain over the body of his eldest son. Of all the barons and knights who fought on his side, but ten remained alive. The victory of the royalists was complete and final.

The lifeless body of Leicester was brutally mangled by the foot-soldiers of the royal army; but his remains were afterward removed by the king's orders, and interred at the neighbouring abbey. His memory long lived among the populace: the title of "Sir Simon the Righteous" shows the estimation in which he was held; and, though he was excommunicated, even miracles were ascribed to him. Of the superior talents of Leicester, both as a statesman and as a warrior, few doubts can be entertained: of the purity of his motives we have not the means of speaking with certainty, for our authorities are either his warm panegyrist or his zealous adversaries. Those modern writers who are the partisans of the papacy or of royalty, of course represent him as actuated solely by

interest and ambition; and, judging by analogy, we may suspect that they are not far astray.

The victory at Evesham completely broke the power of the barons. The King of the Romans, and the other prisoners made at Lewes, were set at liberty by those who held them, in hopes that they would prove intercessors in their behalf. A parliament met at Winchester on the 8th of September, by which, among other matters, it was enacted that the estates of Leicester's adherents should be confiscated, and the city of London deprived of its charter. These rigorous measures only served to rekindle the flame; and partial risings took place in various quarters. Simon de Montfort, leaving a stout garrison in Kenilworth, took refuge in the isle of Axholm, in the fens of Lincolnshire. He was, however, compelled by the prince to submit; and, on the intercession of the King of the Romans, was allowed to quit the kingdom, and promised a pension of five hundred marks (\$1600). He, however, soon after put himself at the head of the Cinque Ports' pirates; but the prince led his troops against these towns; and, having taken Winchelsea by storm, forced them to sue for peace. An amnesty was granted, and they swore fealty to the king. The prince then marched into Hampshire, where a bold rebel, named Adam Gordon, was ravaging the country. He came up with him in a wood near Alton; and, though Gordon was the most athletic man of the time, he engaged him singly, wounded, unhorsed, and made him a prisoner. In admiration of his valour he then gave him his liberty, and restored him to his honours and estate; and Gordon ever remained attached to his benefactor. The garrison of Kenilworth still held out, though blockaded by the king in person with a large force; and the fugitives from Axholm and other places had secured themselves in the Isle of Ely, once the retreat of the Saxons against the Normans.

Many being of opinion that the late Parliament had dealt too severely with the adverse party, a committee of twelve prelates and barons was formed, during the blockade of Kenilworth, to devise more moderate

measures. They divided the offenders into three classes, to whom they gave the option of redeeming their estates from those to whom the king had granted them: the first being to pay a sum equivalent to seven years' income, the second to that of five, and the third to that of two, or of one year. This "Dic-tum of Kenilworth," as it was named, was confirmed by the king in parliament. The garrison of Kenil-worth and those in the Isle of Ely rejected it; but famine forced the former to surrender after a siege of six months, and measures were about to be adopted for reducing the others, when the Earl of Gloucester, taking a sudden disgust, retired to his earldom, and, having levied troops there, ostensibly against Roger Mortimer, suddenly marched to London, united him-self with the citizens, and made himself master of the Tower. The king and prince appearing with a large force, he submitted on receiving a free pardon; and, the royal forces being then directed against the Isle of Ely, it was reduced by a plan similar to that em-ployed by the Conqueror. Llewellyn of Wales was also forced to submit, and engaged to pay tribute; and the king, having thus reduced all his opponents, held, on the 18th of November, 1267, a parliament at Marl-bridge (now Marlborough), in which several of the Provisions of Oxford were confirmed, and some new laws enacted, which are known by the name of the Statutes of Marlbridge.

The kingdom being now at peace, Prince Edward resolved to indulge his love of adventure by joining the King of France in a crusade to the Holy Land. He required that the Earl of Gloucester should either accompany or follow him; he gave liberty to the Earl of Derby, and a new charter to the citizens of Lon-don; and then set out, accompanied by his wife El-eanor of Castile, and his cousin Prince Henry. Find-ing that King Louis had died on the coast of Africa, and that his son Philip had given up the crusade, he stopped for the winter in Sicily. He sent his cousin Henry on business to England; but that prince stop-ped at Viterbo, to be present at the election of a pope.

Here, on the morning of the 3d of March, 1271, he went into a church to hear mass; and as he stood in meditation after it was concluded, he suddenly heard a voice cry, "Thou traitor, Henry, thou shalt not escape!" He turned, and beheld his cousins, Simon and Guy de Montfort, in full armour, with their swords drawn. He sprang to the altar, but it availed him naught; and he fell pierced by a multitude of wounds. Two priests vainly interposed: the one was slain, the other left for dead. The assassins mutilated the body, and dragged it to the church door, where they mounted their horses and rode away. The church excommunicated them, but they were never brought to justice.

The King of the Romans did not long survive his son: he died of paralysis in April of the following year, 1272; and, seven months after, he was followed to the tomb by the king his brother. He fell sick at Bury St. Edmund's; and, being conveyed to Westminster, expired there on the 20th of November, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and the fifty-sixth of his reign.

To draw a character of so feeble a prince as Henry III. would be mere waste of time. He had not energy enough to be either good or bad in any eminent degree. As a private person, he might have gone happy and blameless through life: seated on a throne, he was an object of contempt.

The trial by ordeal was abolished in the early part of the reign of Henry III. As a substitute, the trial by jury was offered in all cases, criminal as well as civil.

It was at the council of Merton, in the twentieth year of this king, that the earls and barons made their famous reply, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari* (we will not have the laws of England changed). The occasion was the question of the illegitimacy of children born before marriage. The common law regarded all such children as illegitimate; while the canon and civil laws held them to be legitimated by the act of

marriage. Hence the lay and ecclesiastical courts were frequently at variance. As the church was at this time making every effort to obtain the superiority for the canon law, the prelates sought of the great council to cause their law to decide in this matter. They received the above memorable reply, indicative of that determination to resist the encroachments of the church, which was thenceforth to gather strength every day.

CHAPTER V.

EDWARD I. (LONGSHANKS).*

1272-1307.

Edward in the East.—Petty Battle of Chalons.—Reduction of Wales.—Affairs of Scotland.—Loss of Guienne.—Battle of Dunbar.—William Wallace.—Battle of Stirling.—Battle of Falkirk.—Reduction of Scotland.—Robert Bruce.—Death and Character of Edward.—State of the Constitution.

EDWARD was in the Holy Land when the death of his father gave him the crown of England. Acre was all that there remained to the Christians; and the small force of one thousand men which the English prince had brought, could avail but little to effect its security. Yet, during the eighteen months that he tarried in the East, he upheld the fame of the blood of the lion-hearted Richard; and at his departure in 1272, he procured for those whom he had come to aid, a ten-years' truce from the Sultan of Egypt. The fall of Acre, however, was only delayed: it opened its gates in 1291 to a Moslem conqueror, and the Christian dominion in the East expired.

During his abode in Acre, Edward nearly lost his life by treachery. The Emir of Jaffa, pretending a

* Authorities the same as before (excepting Paris), and Walsingham, Langtoft, and Fordun.

desire to embrace Christianity, had gained his confidence, and messages passed between them. The Moslem envoy was one day admitted alone into the room in which Edward was lying on a couch during the heat of the day. Finding the long-sought occasion arrived, he drew a dagger, and made a blow at the prince's heart. Edward received the stroke on his arm, rose, cast the assassin to the ground, and despatched him with his own weapon. But the dagger was supposed to have been poisoned; for the wound assumed a dangerous appearance. The prince made his will, and calmly prepared for death. The skill, however, of his English surgeon, aided by the strength of a good constitution, effected a cure; and he was completely recovered at the end of three weeks. To make the story more romantic, a Spanish writer adds, that Edward's faithful spouse Eleanor, at the risk of her life, extracted the poison from the wound with her lips.

At Messina, on his way home, Edward learned the death of his father. On the invitation of the pope, he visited Rome in 1273. The greatest honours were shown him there, and wherever he passed through Italy and Savoy. He proceeded to Paris, and did homage to Philip the Fair for his continental dominions. As there were some disturbances in Guienne, he deemed it right to settle them before he went to England. This caused him a delay of an entire year, during which time he ran a great risk of losing his life by treachery, as it was said. The Count of Chalons being about to hold a tournament, sent a challenge to the King of England to appear at it. The pontiff, who was then at Lyons, wrote to dissuade him from accepting it, asserting that treachery was meant. Edward's chivalrous spirit, however, would not suffer him to decline. He appeared on the appointed day with one thousand men, horse and foot: the count's array, it is said, displayed double the number. The tournament began, and was at first conducted with the usual courtesy; but it soon presented the appearance of a mortal conflict. Edward himself overthrew the count

and made him his captive ; and the "Petty Battle of Chalons," as it was named, terminated in favour of the English.

After regulating some commercial differences with the Countess of Flanders, Edward at length, on the 2d of August, embarked for England, where he was received with the utmost joy ; and shortly after, on the 19th, he and his queen were crowned at Westminster. The king was now in the thirty-sixth year of his age. With a high and well-merited reputation for all the civil and military virtues, he possessed the respect and affections of his subjects, and his realms were peaceful and prosperous. A field for his ambition would naturally present itself somewhere ; and chance determined for the project of uniting the whole island of Britain under one sceptre, instead of wasting, like his predecessors, the national energies in contests with France. Wales first, and then Scotland, were attacked by his arts and his arms.

Llewellyn, prince of Wales, had, as we have seen, taken an active part on the side of the barons in the late civil wars. He had, however, after the battle of Evesham, renewed his fealty to King Henry ; but, when summoned on that monarch's death to swear it to his successor, he had refused. After the return of Edward, Llewellyn was thrice summoned to appear and do homage to the English crown ; but he declined, under the pretext of his life not being safe in England. It would appear that he still kept up an intercourse with the Montfort family, for he was betrothed to their sister Eleanor ; but this lady, on her passage from France to Wales, was taken by an English vessel, and detained by orders of the king. Edward, having assembled an army, advanced in 1276 to the frontiers of Wales. He there offered Llewellyn a safe-conduct ; but the Welshman insisted on the liberation of his affianced bride, and the delivery of the king's son as a hostage for his safety. He was then, as contumacious, pronounced a rebel by parliament ; and a subsidy of a fifteenth was granted for the war against him. To add to the embarrassment of Lle-

wellyn, his own brother David, whom he had deprived of his patrimony, was active in the English interest; and Rees of Meredith, the head of a rival family, took the same side. Edward having assembled his forces the following midsummer, 1277, crossed the Dee in Cheshire; and, marching along the coast, made himself master of Anglesea. As his fleet commanded the sea, the Welsh were cooped up in the barren region of Snowdon; and famine soon obliged Llewellyn to submit. He agreed to pay £50,000 (\$240,000) for the expenses of the war, to cede the country from the Conway to Chester, to hold Anglesea as a fief of the English crown, to give ten hostages, and to do homage. The king shortly after remitted the fine, restored the hostages, and gave his consent to the marriage of Llewellyn with Eleanor de Montfort.

Edward retired, deeming the subjugation of Wales now complete. But the insolence of the English on the one side, and the rooted antipathy of the Welsh to the strangers on the other, soon disturbed the tranquillity. The people of the ceded districts could not endure the introduction of English law; deeming it, for example, a great hardship that the justiciary should hang those who committed murder, when they had offered to pay the fine imposed in such cases by Welsh law. A prophecy ascribed to Merlin also excited their minds at this time. This ancient Cymric seer had, it seems, foretold, that when English money should become round, a Prince of Wales would be crowned at London; and, as Edward had lately issued a new and circular coinage, and forbidden the penny to be cut any more into halfpence and farthings, they deemed the time of Welsh dominion to have arrived.

The insurrection was commenced by Prince David; who, on the night of Palm Sunday, 1282, amid the uproar of a tempest, surprised the castle of Hawarden, in which the justiciary De Clifford resided, and put all in it to death except De Clifford, who was conveyed a captive to Snowdon. This was the signal for a general rising: the Welsh everywhere poured down on the marches, and Llewellyn came and laid siege to

the castles of Flint and Rhuddlan. Edward lost no time in collecting troops: he raised his standard at Worcester, and thence advanced to the relief of his fortresses. Having constructed a bridge of boats on the Menai, broad enough to allow forty men to march abreast, he passed his army over and reduced Anglesea. He then sent a body of troops back to the main land to observe the enemy. But, on the sudden appearance of the Welsh, they took fright, and fled back to the shore. The tide had now divided the bridge, and most of them perished in attempting to escape by the boats. As the English were assembling troops on the southern frontier, Llewellyn now hastened to defend the passage of the Wye. Here, on the 11th of December, as he was reposing in a barn on a hill near the bridge, which was held by his people, he was awaked by a loud shout; and the English, who had passed by a ford, were seen ascending the hill. A knight, named Adam Frankton, came by chance to the barn; and Llewellyn, though unarmed, engaged him, but was run through the body by his spear and slain. After the defeat of the Welsh, Frankton returned to the barn; and it was only then that the quality of the slain was discovered. Llewellyn's head was cut off and sent to Edward, by whose orders it was fixed on the Tower of London, encircled with ivy, or, as some said, silver,* in ridicule of Merlin's prophecy.

When Llewellyn's death was known, most of the Welsh chiefs hastened to make their submission. David alone, despairing of pardon, or actuated by a generous love of independence, still held out. But his treacherous countrymen hunted him for six months through the mountains, and at length, in 1283, captured him and his family. He was brought in chains to Edward: a parliament was assembled at Shrewsbury to try him, and he was sentenced, on the 30th of

* Sir James Mackintosh says, "with a crown of willows, in base mockery of those ancient songs which were fondly believed by the Welsh to prefigure their deliverer, as adorned by this symbol, of sovereignty."--*Am Ed.*

September, "to be drawn to the gallows as a traitor to the king who had made him a knight; to be hanged as the murderer of the gentlemen taken in the castle of Hawarden; to have his bowels burned, because he had profaned by assassination the solemnity of Christ's passion; and to have his quarters dispersed through the country, because he had in different places compassed the death of his lord the king." This sentence, perhaps the earliest instance of what became the usual punishment for treason, was literally executed; and David's head was placed beside that of his brother on the Tower.

Edward spent more than a year in Wales, to regulate the country. He divided it, like England, into counties and hundreds, and formed corporations in the towns. He strengthened the castles at Conway and Caernarvon, and gave the adjoining lands to English barons; but he left all the remaining lands in the hands of their original proprietors. By accident or design, the queen at this time gave birth to a son at Caernarvon, whom the politic Edward, to the great joy of his new subjects, declared to be Prince of Wales; and as this prince soon after, by the death of his elder brother, became heir to the crown, the title of Prince of Wales has ever since been that of the heir-apparent to the throne of England.

Tradition reports, that, fearing lest the bards who flourished in Wales, as in all Celtic countries, should, by their patriotic strains, again awaken in the breasts of the people the love of independence, Edward assembled all these sons of song, and then barbarously put them to death; hoping, as the poet says, "to quench the (poetic) orb of day" in this "sanguine cloud." But such an act was totally repugnant to the character of Edward, and the charge is unsupported by a single particle of historic evidence.*

The following year, 1285, was devoted by Edward

* The balance of evidence is undoubtedly against the truth of this story; and still it has been credited by highly respectable writers—Russel, among others. See *History of Modern Europe*, I., 216, Harpers' edition.—*Am. Ed.*

to the labours of legislation ; and the three succeeding years were spent on the Continent, where the fame of his justice and wisdom had caused him to be chosen arbitrator between the royal houses of France and Aragon. On his return, the affairs of Scotland attracted his attention, and gave him employment for the remainder of his reign.

In the year 1286, Alexander III. of Scotland died by a fall from his horse. His children by his queen, Margaret, the sister of Edward, having all died before him, the succession came to the "Maid of Norway," as the infant daughter of Eric, king of Norway, by Margaret, the daughter of the Scottish king, was named. Edward proposed a marriage between the young queen and his eldest son ; her father and the states of Scotland gave a ready consent, the pope granted a dispensation, and the princess embarked for Scotland. Unfortunately, she fell sick on the voyage, and breathed her last on one of the Orkney isles in 1290. Immediately no less than thirteen claimants of the throne appeared ; but, as it was manifest that none other than the descendants of David, earl of Huntingdon, brother of William the Lion, could have a right, and as this prince had had none but daughters, the claim could only lie among their descendants. John Baliol, lord of Galloway, was the grandson of the eldest daughter ; Robert Bruce, earl of Carrick and lord of Annandale, the son of the second ; John Hastings, lord of Abergavenny, the grandson of the third. This last, it is evident, had but little claim ; and the question (a dubious one in that age) was, whether the more remote representative of the elder, or the nearer of the second sister, was the heir. To avoid an appeal to arms, it was determined by the nobles, in 1291, that the decision should be referred to the King of England, whose reputation for wisdom and justice stood so high, and of whose right to decide, as feudal superior of the realm, they were probably conscious.

Edward readily accepted the office of arbitrator ; he advanced with a large army to the frontiers, and sum-

VOL. I.—X

moned the Scottish parliament to meet him at the castle of Norham, on the southern bank of the Tweed. The Scots assembled on the opposite bank; and, on the appointed day, their states appeared in the church of Norham, where they were addressed by Brabazon, the English justiciary, who required them, as a preliminary act, to acknowledge Edward as their feudal superior.* They hesitated. "By holy Edward, whose crown I wear," cried the king, "I will have my rights, or die in the assertion of them." They craved a delay of three weeks, in order to consult those prelates and barons who were still absent. The delay was granted; and, at the same time, an instrument containing various historical proofs of the king's claim was delivered to them, and they were required to state their objections, if any, to it. On the 2d of June, the Bishop of Bath, the chancellor, passed over to the Scottish side of the river, and stated that, as no opposition had been made to the king's claim, he would proceed to decide. He then asked Robert Bruce if he were willing to abide by the decision of Edward, as sovereign lord of Scotland. He replied in the affirmative; and the other competitors did the same. Baliol was absent (probably on purpose); but the next morning he gave his consent, though, it is said, with reluctance. They all then passed over, and met King Edward in the church of Norham, where they signed an instrument to that effect.

It was resolved that they should exhibit their claims before a council of forty Scots, chosen by Baliol and his kinsman Comyn, forty more chosen by Bruce, and twenty-four English named by King Edward; who also required that all the fortresses of Scotland should be put into his hands, and that the military tenants of the crown should swear fealty to

* The claim of ancient feudal superiority over Scotland set up by Edward, would seem to rest on very doubtful grounds. The Scottish historians all deny it; and Sir James Mackintosh compares the conduct of the English monarch in this transaction to that of Napoleon in inveigling the royal family and the nobility of Spain, at Bayonne, in 1808.—*Am. Ed.*

him, that he might be enabled to carry into effect the decision of the council. Edward then went southward, leaving the council to sit at Berwick. At the expiration of a year, on the 2d of June, 1292, he returned to hear their decision. But, as they had not yet determined, he directed them first to examine the claims of Bruce and Baliol, and then to dispose of those of the others. When they made their report, the king laid it before the united parliament of the two nations, who decided in favour of Baliol. Bruce and Hastings then required that the kingdom should be divided. This proposal, though so manifestly for his interest, Edward rejected; and, on the 17th of November, he pronounced judgment in favour of Baliol; to whom, on his swearing fealty in the fullest terms, he restored the royal castles, and gave complete possession of the kingdom.

If we except an apparent want of generosity, in taking advantage of the confidence of the Scottish nation to exact a formal recognition of his feudal superiority, there is certainly little to blame in the conduct of Edward throughout this transaction. An unworthy motive, probably without justice, has been ascribed to his subsequent behaviour. By the feudal law, an appeal lay from the sentence of an immediate lord to the court of the common superior; and, as Duke of Aquitaine, Edward had himself been often thus cited before the court of France. Appeals were accordingly made, in 1293, by Macduff, earl of Fife, and others, from the sentence of Baliol, to the King of England. Baliol, when summoned to appear and answer the charge of Macduff, took no notice of the summons. When cited a second time, he appeared in person, and not by attorney, as he might have done, and sentence was given against him; and, for his contempt of the authority of his liege lord, it was adjudged that three of his castles, with their royalties, should be sequestered. Baliol asked time to consult his subjects: the request was granted; and when the time he had required was expired, adjournment after adjournment was made.

While Edward was thus exercising his feudal superiority over Scotland, he became himself the object of a similar claim from the King of France. The occasion was as follows. The crews of a Norman and an English ship, having gone ashore to water at the same place, a quarrel arose, in which a Norman was slain. The Normans, in revenge, attacked the first English ship they met, took out of her a merchant of Bayonne, and hanged him, with a dog at his feet, on their yards. Retaliation followed; the English were joined by the Irish and Dutch, and the Normans by the French and Genoese mariners. Neither sovereign interfered. At length a Norman fleet of two hundred sail, having pillaged the coast of Gascony, put into a port of Brittany, where they were discovered by a fleet of eighty ships belonging to Portsmouth and the Cinque Ports. The English challenged them to come out: the challenge was accepted; and a bloody engagement ended in favour of the English, who captured the entire hostile fleet. The King of France now summoned Edward, as duke of Guienne, to appear before the court at Paris, and answer for the various offences alleged to have been committed by his vassals of Guienne against the subjects of his liege lord. Edward sent the Bishop of London to offer compensation to those injured, provided the like were made to the English. This being refused, he offered to refer the matter to arbitrators, or to the pope. Finally, he sent to Paris his brother Edmund, who was married to the mother of the French queen. Edmund was assured by the two queens, that, as Philip merely wanted to vindicate his honour, he only required that Edward should resign Guienne to him for forty days, at the end of which time he pledged himself to restore it. Edward gave his consent; a treaty to this effect was executed in 1294; the citation against him was withdrawn, and possession of Guienne was given to the officers of Philip. At the end of the forty days, Edmund applied to Philip for the performance of his promise. He was put off for some days; when he renewed his application, he met

with a positive refusal; and, though the citation had been withdrawn, sentence of forfeiture for non-appearance was passed against Edward.

It seems strange that so politic a prince as Edward should thus allow himself to be swindled out of one of his fairest possessions. It is, indeed, said by some, that his eagerness to make himself master of Scotland rendered him careless of Guienne; but there is no clear proof of his having any designs on Scotland at this time; and a more probable reason is assigned by those who say that there was a treaty of marriage on foot between him (he being now a widower) and the sister of Philip, and that he wished Guienne to be settled on his issue by that princess; for which purpose it was necessary to surrender it to the superior lord, in order that an enfeoffment to that effect might be executed.

Edward was not a man to submit tamely to such a flagrant injustice. He raised money, collected an army, sent to excuse himself to his Gascon vassals for having given them up, and formally renounced his allegiance to Philip. But adverse winds detained him for seven weeks at Portsmouth; during which time the Welsh, thinking he was gone, rose in arms, slaughtered the English who were in their country, and ravaged the marches. The king went in person against them, and speedily reduced them to obedience. Their leaders were sentenced to confinement during pleasure in different castles, and their estates given to their heirs. Henceforth Wales remained peaceable and quiet.

Edward was again about to set forth to recover his continental possessions, when he received information that the Scots, impatient of his yoke, had concluded an alliance with the King of France, and that a match had been contracted between Philip's niece and Baliol's eldest son. The Scots, moreover, as they distrusted the timid temper of their king, had given him a council of four bishops, four earls, and four barons, in whose hands the government now really lay. This intelligence determined Edward not to quit England.

He sent his brother Edmund with some troops to Guienne; and then, to put Baliol to the test, he required him, as his vassal, to aid him in the recovery of that province; he next demanded that the castles of Jedburgh, Roxburgh, and Berwick should be put into his hands by way of security; and finally summoned him to appear before him at Newcastle-upon-Tyne the following March. None of these demands being complied with, Edward advanced to Newcastle in March, 1296, at the head of thirty thousand foot and four thousand horse. The Scots, who had concealed their king in the Highlands, prepared for defence. To draw away King Edward, they made an inroad into Cumberland; but, regardless of them, he crossed the Tweed at Coldstream, and sat down before Berwick, which was carried by assault the next day, and its garrison of seven thousand men put to the sword. Warrenne, earl of Surrey, was then sent, with a large force, to besiege the castle of Dunbar, whose garrison agreed to surrender if not relieved within three days. On the third day, April 27th, the Scottish army, of forty thousand foot and five thousand horse, appeared on the hills beyond the town. Warrenne fell back a little to prepare for battle. A cry of "They run!" rose in the Scottish lines; and the whole army precipitately poured down into the valley to destroy the fugitives; but here they encountered the firm, close-set lines of the English army. The conflict was short: the Scots fled on all sides, leaving ten thousand of their number dead on the field. Scotland was conquered in this battle: Dunbar, Jedburgh, Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling opened their gates; and Baliol came in person to Kincardin on the 2d of July, and made a formal surrender of his kingdom. Edward advanced as far as Elgin without meeting any resistance; he then returned to Berwick, where, having held a parliament, and received the homage of the Scottish nation, he retired, leaving Earl Warrenne guardian of the kingdom. The principal offices of state were given to Englishmen; and the more potent Scottish nobles

were obliged to come and reside south of the Trent. Edward carried away with him the regalia, and the fatal stone-chair at the Abbey of Scone, in which the Scottish kings were wont to be crowned, and which was regarded as the palladium of liberty, depositing it in Westminster Abbey. It is also said, but without any evidence whatever, that he ordered all the records which contained proofs of Scottish independence to be destroyed.

Baliol was assigned the Tower of London for a residence, and he was allowed the full range of a circuit of twenty miles round London. At the end of three years, he obtained permission to retire to his estates in Normandy, where he spent the remaining six years of his life, more happy, probably, than when ruling over the turbulent Scots.

While Edward was engaged in Scotland, the whole of Guienne, except Bayonne, fell into the hands of the French prince. Edmund died soon after his arrival, and the Earl of Lincoln took the command. The king, on his return from Scotland, made vigorous preparations for the war with France. His plan was to attack it on the side of Flanders; and, with this design, he had formed alliances with the emperor, the Earl of Flanders, and other princes. He also intended to continue operations in Guienne; and proposed putting the forces designed for that province under the constable Humphrey Bohun, earl of Hereford, and the marshal Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk. But, to his surprise, these nobles positively refused; alleging that their office only obliged them to attend his person in the wars. "Sir Earl," cried the enraged monarch to the constable, "you shall either go or hang." "Sir King," replied the undaunted earl, "I will neither go nor hang." They then retired from court with about thirty of the barons; and, as they refused to execute their office in mustering troops, the king appointed a temporary marshal and constable for the purpose. As we shall return to the subject, we will here only observe, that the two earls were not disloyal to their sovereign on this occasion: they

only wished to set bounds to the arbitrary conduct which he had strongly displayed in his mode of raising money for his intended expedition.

At length the king crossed the sea with a large army, but no action of any importance took place. A truce for two years was concluded; and finally, through the mediation of the pope, a peace was made: the French king restoring Guienne to Edward, who himself married that monarch's sister Margaret, and affianced the Prince of Wales to his daughter Isabella.

While Edward was absent in Flanders in 1297, an insurrection against his authority broke out in Scotland. Earl Warrenne being obliged to return to England on account of his health, left the direction of affairs to Ormesby, the justiciary, and Cressingham, the treasurer. The former was a harsh, austere man; the latter was an ecclesiastic deeply infected with avarice. By these men the Scots were made to feel keenly their national degradation: several gentlemen were outlawed or imprisoned for refusing or delaying to take the oath of allegiance. We need no proof that the subordinate English agents faithfully imitated the insolence of their superiors. One of these officers, having offered an affront to William Wallace, a gentleman of small fortune in the west of Scotland, the latter, who was a man of gigantic stature, and great strength and courage, struck him dead on the spot. Knowing, then, that he had no mercy to expect, Wallace fled to the woods, the retreat of those who feared punishment for their patriotism or their crimes. His superior powers of mind and body soon raised him to command; and he carried on, with great ability and success, a *guerilla-warfare*, as it is now named, against the English and their adherents. In concert with Sir William Douglas, another leader of outlaws, he made a bold attempt to surprise the justiciary at Scone; but Ormesby, having had timely notice, fled into England. Many of the other English officers followed his example; and the Scots rose in various parts, and massacred such

of the English as fell into their hands. The fame of Wallace and Douglas increased every day; and they were joined at length by the Bishop of Glasgow, the Steward of Scotland, Sir Alexander Lindsey, Sir Andrew Moray, Sir Richard Lundin, and other chiefs. The young Earl of Carrick* hesitated how to act. At first he went to Carlisle when summoned, and renewed his fealty; then he changed and tried to raise Annandale; and he finally repaired, with his own retainers, to the camp of the patriots.

But meantime Earl Warrenne had, by Edward's orders, called out the forces of the six northern counties; and two English armies entered Scotland. At Irvine, on the 9th of July, one of them, led by Warrenne's nephew, Henry Percy, came up with the Scottish forces. As dissensions had broken out among the patriotic chiefs, and they feared the result of a battle, they all, with the exception of Wallace and Moray, hastened to make their submission and obtain their pardon. These last two chiefs moved northward, with the greater part of the forces; and they were joined by the tenantry of several noblemen, secretly encouraged by their lords. Warrenne advanced with a large army to Stirling, near which Wallace lay with forty thousand men, at a place called Cambuskenneth, on the opposite side of the Forth, over which river there was only one bridge, of wood, and merely broad enough to allow two men to go abreast. Lundin, who was now with Warrenne, strongly advised him not to attempt this passage in the face of an enemy; but the earl, urged by the impetuous Cressingham, took no heed of the admonition. Led by Cressingham and Sir Marmaduke Twinge, the English, on the 11th of September, began to cross the bridge. Wallace waited patiently on the hills, where he lay till about five thousand men were over; and then, having sent round a part of his force to secure the head of the bridge, he gave orders to pour

* Bruce, the claimant of the throne, died in 1296. His son was at this time with Edward. This was his grandson.

down on them ; and the whole were speedily slaughtered in the presence of their leader, who could give them no aid. Cressingham was among the slain ; and the vindictive Scots, it is said, flayed his body, and made thongs for their horses out of the skin. Warrenne lost no time in making his retreat into England ; and, towards winter, Wallace and Moray crossed the borders, and ravaged the northern counties during an entire month.

Wallace was made " Guardian of the Kingdom, and General of the Armies of Scotland," under which title he summoned a parliament at Perth. But the sun of his glory was soon to set. Edward, who had returned, was now, in 1298, on his way to Scotland ; and, when he joined Earl Warrenne at Berwick, he found himself at the head of seven thousand horse and eighty thousand foot, chiefly Welsh and Irish. He advanced to the Forth ; but want of provisions forced him to fall back ; and, hearing that Wallace lay with his army in the forest of Falkirk, in order to harass him in his retreat, he moved in that direction. Having halted for the night on the moor of Linlithgow, the English, on advancing next morning, July the 22d, found the enemy posted behind a morass. Wallace had drawn up his pikemen in four circular masses, called Schiltrons, connected by lines of archers from the forest of Selkirk. He had stationed his cavalry in the rear. Having made this judicious arrangement, he cried, " I haif brocht you to the king ;* hop [dance] gif ye can." One division of the English got entangled in the morass ; a second, led by the Bishop of Durham, went round it ; and the prelate then ordered his men to halt till the other divisions came up. " To thy mass, bishop !" cried a knight, and dashed on against the Scottish cavalry, who fled at the first charge. The line of archers was speedily broken ; but the pikemen stood firm, till the English archers and the military engines having played on them, and openings being effected in their circles, the horse

* Walsingham. Langtoft says, " to the reinge [ring]."

rushed in and cut the brave Scots to pieces. The loss of the Scots is variously stated at from fifteen to fifty thousand men. Wallace escaped ; but he could only resume his former predatory courses.

After his victory, Edward traversed the country in all directions, without meeting any resistance. Want of provisions, however, soon obliged him to retire ; and Galloway, and all the country north of the friths, remained in the hands of the Scots, whose affairs were now guided by the Bishop of St. Andrews, Bruce earl of Carrick, John Comyn, and John de Soulis, acting as regents in the name of John Baliol. This was in 1299. They now laid siege to the castle of Stirling, which, not being relieved by Edward, was forced to surrender.

The Scots had applied to Pope Boniface VIII. to interfere in their behalf ; and, in the course of this summer, the pontiff wrote a letter to Edward, in which, after asserting that Scotland belonged in full right to the Roman see, he proceeded to detail the proofs of its independence of the English crown, with which the Scots had furnished him ; and concluded by boldly reserving to his own decision every point at issue between the King of England and the king or people of Scotland. This bull was so long delayed, that it did not reach Edward till after his return from Scotland, in the following summer of the year 1300. A truce, at the desire of the King of France, having been concluded with the Scots, a parliament met in February, 1301, to take it into consideration. This assembly, in the strongest and most emphatic terms, denied the right of the pope to interfere in the temporal concerns of the crown of England ; and declared that they would not suffer the king, even if so inclined, to yield to any of those pretensions contained in the pontiff's letter : for whose satisfaction as a friend, however, though not as a judge, a long reply to that letter was drawn up. In this reply, the fabulous pages of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and his story of Brute the Trojan, were treated as real history, and quoted as authority. The Anglo-Saxon and Norman

periods were then gone through; and every instance of homage done by Scottish princes was enumerated. This reply, when sent to Rome, was given by the pope to the Scottish agent, and by him transmitted to the regency, who were not slow to frame a counter-statement. Here the mythic history of Ireland was opposed to that of England; the Saxon history was set aside, as Edward, being a Norman, could not claim from the Saxons; the Norman instances were denied; Edward's refusal to submit to the decision of the pontiff was ascribed to his sense of the weakness of his cause; and it was asserted that Scotland is the peculiar property of the Holy See, Constantine having bestowed on it all the isles of the West.

Whatever might be the strength or justice of the Scottish arguments, Edward set them at naught. Having concluded a peace with the King of France, he prepared for the final reduction of Scotland. In the spring of 1303, John de Segrave, whom he had made governor of that kingdom, set out, by his orders, with about twenty thousand men, for Edinburgh. He led his forces without much precaution; and, on coming to Rosslyn, divided them into three parts, each of which encamped separately. Early the next morning, on the 24th of February, the first division, under Segrave himself, was fallen on before they were up by a body of eight thousand Scottish horse, led by Comyn, the governor, and Sir Simon Fraser; and was completely routed, Segrave himself being made a prisoner. The second division now came up; and the Scots, having previously put their prisoners to death, fell on and routed it also. The third division now appeared: again the prisoners were massacred, and again the English were defeated.

This success raised the hopes of the Scots; but, ere long, the king appeared with a force which it were folly to resist. They hoped to defeat him, like Warrenne, at the bridge of Forth; but he crossed that river by a ford. The castle of Brechin alone resisted. He traversed the whole north of Scotland, and then took up his residence for the winter in the Abbey of Dum-

fermline. Hither repaired Comyn the guardian, and the other nobles; and, on the 9th of February, 1304, a treaty was concluded, securing them in their lives and estates, subject to such fines as parliament should impose. Some of the more turbulent or influential were required to leave the kingdom for different periods. Wallace was invited to submit with the rest: * but, actuated by patriotism or some other motive, he preferred the life of an outlaw. Stirling Castle, strong by its position on a rock, still held out; and Edward was obliged to invest it in person. After a brave resistance of three months, a surrender was agreed on; and Oliphant, the governor, and twenty-five of the garrison, came down, as was the custom in such cases, barefoot, in their shirts, and with halters about their necks. Edward advanced to meet them: they fell on their knees and implored his favour. "I have none for you," said the king; "you must surrender at discretion." They assented. "Then," said he, "you shall be hanged as traitors." "Sir," said Oliphant, "we own our guilt; our lives are at your mercy." The rest also declared themselves guilty, and sued for mercy. The king turned aside, and, it is said, dropped a tear: he then ordered them to be conducted into England, but not in chains. A few months after, Wallace was betrayed by his servant to Sir John Monteith. He was brought up to London, where he was arraigned for murder, robbery, and treason. To the first two charges he pleaded guilty; but he denied that he was a traitor, as he had never sworn fealty to Edward. He was found guilty, and executed: his head was placed on the Tower; and his four quarters were sent to different parts of Scotland, for a similar exposure.†

* "Et quant à Monsieur Guiliam de Galeys est accordé, qu'il se mette en la volunté et en la grâce nostre seigneur le Roy si lui semble que bon soit"—(And as to William Galeys (Wallace), it is granted that he may submit himself to the will and mercy of our lord the king, if it shall seem to him good).—Ryley, 370.

† We think there is, throughout this part of the author's narrative, the appearance of a studied disparagement of the character of Sir William Wallace. His name stands associated in history

The following year, 1305, Edward, after consulting with Wishart bishop of Glasgow, Robert Bruce, and John Mowbray, all Scots and asserters of Scottish independence, prepared to draw up a plan for the government of Scotland. By this, the places of trust were to be put into the hands of natives and Englishmen conjointly; the laws of Scotland were to continue in force; and an amnesty was passed, on condition of fines being paid, which, however, were to be spent in Scotland, for the benefit of the kingdom. This plan was drawn up on the 15th of October.

Edward now deemed that he had secured his dominion over Scotland; but never was an expectation more fallacious. Four months were hardly passed, when Scotland was again in insurrection. Baliol being now dead, and his son a captive in the Tower, the task of maintaining the rights of the family had fallen to his nephew, John Comyn of Badenoch, whom we therefore have seen acting as head of the nation. Robert Bruce, the grandson of Baliol's competitor, a young man about twenty-three years of age, was now the head of the rival house. These two noblemen having repaired to Dumfries, on what account is not certainly known, Bruce,* on the 10th of February, 1306, requested Comyn to give him a private meeting in the choir of the church of the Minorites. They met; but what their discourse was remains unknown; high words arose, and Bruce drew his dagger, and plun

with the most illustrious patriots of past ages; and it seems but just, therefore, that we should present to the reader what, we think, may be deemed a more accurate, though perhaps somewhat partial picture of him, as drawn by Sir James Mackintosh. "The death of Wallace," says this writer, "was the more glorious, from the ignominy which the impotent rage of the conqueror heaped on a lifeless corpse. His name stands brightly forward among the foremost of men, with Vasa, with the two Williams of Orange, with Washington, with Kosciusko, with his own more fortunate but less pure successor, Robert Bruce. His spirit survived him in Scotland. The nation, shaken to its deepest foundations by a hero who came into contact with them, and who conquered by them alone, retained the impulse which his mighty arm had communicated."—*Am. Ed.*

* See Appendix (N).

ged it into Comyn's bosom. Comyn fell ; and Bruce hurried out of the church, pale and agitated. "I think I have killed Comyn," said he to his friends whom he met without. "You only think so !" cried Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick ; "I will secure him ;" and he and the rest rushed into the church. Seaton, Bruce's brother-in-law, there slew Comyn's uncle, who had hastened to the spot, and Comyn himself, who was still alive, was despatched by Kirkpatrick.

After this daring deed, Bruce, despairing of pardon, assumed the title of king. The people favoured his pretensions ; and he was crowned, on the 27th of March, at Scone. But, ere long, the English forces poured into Scotland, where they were joined by the adherents of Comyn ; and Bruce, being defeated on the 24th of June at Methven, near Perth, became a wanderer in Athol and Breadalbane. His little band was again dispersed ; and, having made his way to the coast, he sought refuge in the isle of Rathlin, on the coast of Ireland, where he remained concealed for the winter. King Edward, though broken by age and disease, had resolved to avenge the murder of Comyn. He knighted the Prince of Wales and a number of the nobility ; and, at the banquet held on this occasion, he vowed before God and the swans, which, according to usage, were placed on the table, to punish the Scottish rebels ; and he prayed the company, if he died, not to let him be buried till his son had performed his vow. The prince and nobles swore that they would do as he had desired ; and the king then set out for Carlisle, where he issued orders for the trial of such of Bruce's adherents as had been made prisoners ; and the Earl of Athol and some others were executed as traitors.

In the spring of 1307, Bruce reappeared and gained some advantages. The king, finding his health somewhat improved, assembled a large army at Carlisle, and put himself at its head to enter Scotland ; but he had only gone five miles, to a place named Burgh-on-the-Sands, when the violence of his disorder obliged him to stop ; and the next day, the 7th of July, he

breathed his last, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign.

It has been said of this great monarch that he "was the model of a politic and warlike king." In person, though his limbs were too long and slender (whence his name of Longshanks), he was imposing and handsome; he was skilled in all martial exercises; his courage was undoubted; his manners were courteous and affable. Though arbitrary in temper, he was a lover of justice; and the money which he raised by his sole authority from his people, was employed with frugality for national objects. In a word, there was in him much to admire, and, considering his times, little to condemn: for the maxims of feudal law justified, in a great measure, his conduct towards Wales and Scotland. We may, perhaps, venture to style him the greatest of the House of Plantagenet.

By his first queen, Eleanor of Castile, whom he tenderly loved, Edward had four sons and eleven daughters, of whom only one son, Edward, and four daughters, survived him; and by Margaret of France he had two sons, Thomas, earl of Norfolk and earl-marshal, and Edmund, earl of Kent, and one daughter, who died before him.

In a legal and constitutional point of view, the reign of Edward I. is one of the most important in English history, in which it, on this account, forms an epoch. The "Confirmation of the Charters," of which the following is the history, was the great constitutional measure of his reign.

Edward, as we have said, though he spent it frugally, exacted his subjects' money arbitrarily. He leaned very heavily on the church. The reigning pontiff, the ambitious Boniface VIII., at the desire, it is said, of the clergy, had issued a bull, menacing with excommunication any prince who taxed the church without his consent. When, therefore, the king, on the occasion of his war with France in 1296, demanded of the clergy a fifth of their moveables, they pleaded the bull; and the primate Winchelsea told him that

they owed obedience to two masters, of which the spiritual was the greater. The king, instead of applying to the pope in the usual manner, told them that, as they would not support the government, they were not worthy of its protection; and he forthwith outlawed them, and took possession of all their goods and chattels. They now were robbed, plundered, and abused by every ruffian that chose to do so; and the law would give them no redress. They gradually, therefore, made their peace with the king, yielding to all his demands.

These supplies, however, and those granted by parliament not sufficing, he proceeded to seize the wool and leather in the hands of the merchants, and to force the counties to supply him with corn and cattle (for all which, indeed, he promised payment at a future day); and finally he required the personal service of every holder of land to the value of £20 a year. It was then that the constable and marshal made the bold stand against him above narrated. Finding that they were supported by the nobility, he sought to make peace with the church, and appointed the primate one of the tutors of his son, whom he was leaving guardian of the realm. He even condescended to apologize publicly to the people for his exactions, ascribing them to necessity, and promising amendment. The two earls did not then venture any farther than to draw up a remonstrance against his violations of the Charters, which was presented to him as he was embarking at Winchelsea, and to which he gave an evasive reply. But, after he was gone, they came up to parliament, when summoned, with a large body of both horse and foot; and refused to enter the city till the gates were committed to their custody. The primate, who was secretly in their interest, advised the council to comply; and they thus became masters of the prince and parliament. Their demands, however, were most moderate: they only required that the Charters should be solemnly confirmed, a clause added securing the nation for ever against taxation without consent of parliament, and

pardon to themselves for their refusal to attend the king. The prince and his council assented to these terms ; and they were sent over to the king, who, after some delay and with great reluctance, gave them his confirmation. On his return, the earls insisted that he should confirm them anew ; and, after evincing great repugnance, and having recourse to every subterfuge, he was obliged to yield. He afterward obtained from the pope a dispensation from his oaths ; but the spirit of the people was too strong for him or the papal bull ; and the Great Charter was thus finally and firmly established, and the important right of being the only legitimate raisers of the supplies was gained for the people. The names of Humphrey Bohun and Roger Bigod must ever rank among those of England's most illustrious patriots. In defence of the rights of the people, they withstood and overcame the most able and energetic of her monarchs.

The present constitution of parliament was fully established in this reign ; Edward finding it more for his interest in general to let his people tax themselves, and grant a *subsidy*, as it was now termed, than to employ the old mode of tallaging ; though he still had recourse to that arbitrary mode of raising supplies till the "Confirmation of the Charters" was wrung from him. Scutage also now went out of use ; the tenants in chief paying a subsidy like the citizens and clergy.

The improvements in the law which were made in his reign, have obtained for Edward the title of the English Justinian. The limits of the jurisdiction of the several courts of law were fixed ; and the itinerant justices were directed to hold assizes thrice a year in each county. By the celebrated statute of Winchester, effectual provisions were made for the public security. It enacts that every host shall be answerable for his guests ; that the gates of towns shall be kept locked from sunset to sunrise ; that, when a robbery is committed, the hue and cry shall be made after the felon, and every man be ready to follow it armed ; the hundred to be answerable for the

damage if the robber is not taken. For greater security to travellers, the trees and underwood were to be cleared away for a space of two hundred feet on each side of the highway. Officers named "Conservators" were appointed to carry these provisions into effect, whose powers were gradually extended, and their title changed to that of "Justices of Peace."

The statute of *entails*, which mainly contributes to keep up the wealth and influence of the nobility, and to prevent the division or alienation of landed property, so detrimental to the interests of an aristocracy, is also to be referred to this reign. To check the clergy in their schemes for the acquisition of land, Edward caused to be passed the statute of *mortmain*. This, however, they contrived to elude, by what were called *uses*; but the ingenuity of the common-law lawyers equalled theirs; each new device was met by an appropriate remedy, and the law finally triumphed over the clergy.

It is remarkable that Edward, who was so little of a bigot in general, showed himself a fanatic with respect to the Jews. As we have seen, one of the consequences of the Conquest had been the establishment of this people in England, where they followed their usual trade of lending money, and were also the importers of the rare and precious commodities of distant countries. Their rate of interest was enormous, owing to the insecurity of payment. The church had infused a prejudice against lending at all on interest; and the Jews, on this account, and as the enemies of Christ, were objects of hatred to the people. But the crown protected them, though it made them pay dearly for its favour.

In 1287, Edward threw them all into prison till they paid a sum of £12,000 (\$57,600); and in 1290 he confiscated their property and banished them the kingdom.*

* They did not reappear in England till the time of the Commonwealth.

CHAPTER VI.

EDWARD II. (OF CAERNARVON).*

1307-1327.

Piers Gaveston.—Battle of Bannockburn.—Hugh Spenser.—Execution of the Earl of Lancaster.—Hostile Conduct of the Queen.—Execution of the Spencers.—Deposition and Murder of the King.

EDWARD II. was twenty-three years of age when he succeeded to the throne. He was handsome in person and amiable in temper ; but weak in mind and fond of pleasure, and in all things the opposite of his father. He was exceedingly attached to a young man of his own age, named Piers Gaveston, the son of a Gascon knight, whom the late king had given him as a companion. Gaveston, though brave, witty, and accomplished, was dissipated and insolent ; and the king, finding his society injurious to the prince, had banished him the realm, and bound his son by oath never to recall him without his permission. This injunction he solemnly repeated, when he summoned the prince, who was going to London, to the side of his sick-bed at Carlisle. At the same time he charged him, in case of his own death, not to intermit the Scottish war ; and, it is added, made him swear, that when he was dead, he would cause his body to be boiled in a caldron till the flesh was separated from the bones, which last he should always have carried before him when marching against the Scots.

The new king had not sufficient strength of mind to refuse an oath, or to keep it when taken. His first act was to issue an order for the return of Gaveston. He buried the body of his father at Westminster ;

* Authorities: Hemingford, Walsingham, Knighton, Moor, Murimath, Avesbury, and Fordun.

and, after marching a little way into Scotland, where he was joined by Gaveston, he retired and disbanded his army. Even before the favourite's return, the royal duchy of Cornwall had been conferred on him; the royal officers were now changed at his pleasure; he was made lord chamberlain, and married to the sister of the Earl of Gloucester, the king's niece. A large grant of lands in Guienne was bestowed on him; and at Christmas, when Edward was departing for France, to do his homage and espouse the Princess Isabella, Gaveston was appointed guardian of the realm. On the king's return with his lovely bride, in February, 1308, the guardian and the barons of the realm came, as usual, to meet him. Edward, regardless of decorum, the moment he beheld Gaveston, rushed into his arms, kissed him, and called him his brother; while of the other nobles he took little notice. At the coronation, on the 25th of February, to the mortal offence of the ancient nobility, the high honour of carrying the crown before the king was assigned to the favourite. Their indignation now knew no bounds; and three days afterward they met, and petitioned the king to banish him. Edward put them off till Easter, but he was then obliged to comply. Gaveston himself was made to swear that he would never return; and the bishops pronounced him excommunicate if he broke his oath. The king made him new grants of land, and accompanied him to Bristol, where he embarked; and the barons, to their surprise, soon learned that he was Governor of Ireland.

The causes of the enmity of the nobles to Gaveston are to be sought, not merely in their patriotism, or their national or family pride: the personal vanity of many of them had been wounded on various occasions. Gaveston, who excelled in martial exercises, had unhorsed the earls of Lancaster, Hereford, and others in the tournaments; and his biting wit had affixed nicknames on many of them,* which mortified

* He called Lancaster "the old hog," and "the stage-player;" Pembroke, "Joseph the Jew;" Gloucester, "the cuckold's bird;" and Warwick, "the black dog of the wood."

more than serious injuries. When he was no longer present, however, their resentment gradually cooled ; and the king found means to induce them to consent to his return. The pope absolved him from his oath ; and Edward hastened to Chester to meet him in 1309. But, untaught by experience, both the king and his minion went on in their old courses. The barons refused to attend a parliament summoned at York. As the king's necessities were urgent, Gaveston was obliged to conceal himself in Flanders ; and the parliament then met at Westminster in February, 1310.

The barons, as they were wont when intending to intimidate their sovereign, came attended by their armed vassals. The king was obliged to consent to the appointment of a committee of eight earls, seven bishops, and six barons, who, under the title of Ordainers, were to regulate his household and redress the national grievances. He then proceeded to the North, where he was joined by Gaveston, on whom he lavished more wealth and honours. He entered Scotland, and advanced to the Forth : he passed the winter at Berwick ; and, in the spring of 1311, committed the conduct of the war to his favourite. In August he returned to London, to receive the articles of reform which had been drawn up. These articles tended chiefly to limit the excesses of the royal authority, and to give parliament a control in the appointment of public officers ; and it was expressly provided that Gaveston should be banished the king's dominions. Edward, after a long resistance, consented to sign them ; but he previously made a protest, with a view, probably, to a future evasion. Gaveston and he parted with tears on the 1st of November, and the favourite retired to Flanders. The king dissolved the parliament and returned to the North ; and, before Christmas, the barons learned, with surprise and indignation, that Gaveston had rejoined him at York. By a royal proclamation of the 18th of January, 1312, it was stated that he had returned, in obedience to the king's orders ; and a new grant was made him of his estates and honours.

The barons saw that there was an end of all hopes of weaning the king from Gaveston, and that they or the favourite must fall. A new confederacy was formed, of which the head was Thomas, earl of Lancaster, grandson of Henry III., the possessor of five earldoms; and the primate gave it his countenance. Having assembled under the pretext of a tournament, they proceeded to York; and, finding that the king was at Newcastle, they followed him thither. Regardless of the tears and entreaties of his queen, Edward fled with his favourite to Tynemouth, and thence by sea to Scarborough; where, leaving Gaveston in the castle, he returned to York. Gaveston was besieged by the earls of Surrey and Pembroke; and, finding the place untenable, he surrendered to the latter on the 17th of May, on condition of being reinstated in it, if no accommodation could be effected within two months. Meantime he was to be confined in his own castle at Wallingford. On the way thither he halted at Pembroke's castle of Dedington, near Banbury, where that earl left him with only a few servants. He went to rest without suspicion. Before dawn he was desired to dress himself and come forth; at the gate he found the Earl of Warwick and a large force; and he was placed on a mule and led to Warwick Castle, where shouts of triumph and martial music greeted his arrival. The confederate lords sat in council. It was proposed to spare his life; but one of the party observed, "You have caught the fox; if you let him go, you will have to hunt him again." His death was resolved on. In vain he threw himself at the feet of Lancaster and implored for mercy: he was taken to an adjacent heath and there beheaded, on the 19th day of June. The intelligence of this atrocious deed threw the king into a paroxysm of grief and rage. Time and circumstances, however, gradually cooled his anger, or taught him to conceal it; and, towards the end of the following year, he and his barons were to all appearance fully reconciled.

Scotland now claimed all the attention of the Eng-

lish king. While Edward had been engaged in supporting his insolent favourite against his barons, Bruce had gradually made himself master of all the strong places held by the English. News arriving, in 1314, that the governor of Stirling had agreed to surrender if not speedily relieved, Edward summoned his military tenants to meet him at Berwick. But various difficulties being thrown in his way, and Lancaster, Warwick, and other lords disobeying the summons, he did not reach Stirling till the day before that of the promised surrender, and with a force far inferior to what he had calculated on.* He found Bruce's army arranged in three square columns, and extending from the *burn* or brook of Bannock to near the castle, with pits having sharp stakes placed in them, and covered with hurdles and sods, to protect its left wing. The men of Argyle, Carrick, and the Isles, formed a reserve under Bruce himself. His entire force amounted to about forty thousand men; and fifteen thousand camp followers lay in a valley at some distance, with directions to show themselves during the conflict.

That very evening a skirmish took place between the advanced posts, in which Bruce clove with his battle-axe the scull of a knight named Henry de Bohun. At daybreak of the 24th of June, the Scots, having heard mass from the Abbot of Inchaffray, formed in line of battle. The abbot again prayed, and the whole army fell on their knees. "They kneel!" cried some English; "they beg for mercy!" "Be not deceived," replied Ingelram de Umfraville; "they beg for mercy, but it is only from God." The English infantry and archers advanced. The Scots received them boldly, and the conflict was long and dubious. Bruce brought up his reserve; some men-

* According to the poet Barbour, the great Scottish authority for the details of this battle, he had 100,000 men, of whom 40,000 were cavalry and 50,000 archers. (Tytler, *Hist. of Scotland*, i., 296.) Lingard says that "it is impossible to ascertain the number of Edward's army." The infantry seem to have amounted to only 21,540 men.

at-arms took the English in flank, and they broke and fled. The Earl of Gloucester then led on the horse to renew the engagement; but the slight covering of the pits gave way under their weight, and men and horses were overthrown.

The appearance of those who lay in the valley completed the dismay of the English, and they fled in all directions. Edward himself never halted till he reached Dunbar, where he embarked for Berwick. His treasure, military stores, and engines, fell into the hands of the conquerors. Many knights and esquires were made prisoners, and these Bruce treated with kindness and courtesy; the common soldiery were slaughtered without mercy.

The victory of Bannockburn secured the independence of Scotland. Nothing can be more natural than that it should form a topic of proud exultation to writers of that nation; but, it might be asked, what was the real gain to Scotland; and, since the whole island was to be ruled by one sceptre, would it not have been as well if the union had taken place then, as three centuries later, after Scotland had endured all the evils of feudal anarchy and of a continued state of predatory warfare with England!*

A dreadful famine and pestilence succeeded in England; and the dissensions between the king and his barons were renewed. In 1315 Bruce sent his brother Edward, with six thousand men, over to Ireland, at the invitation of the native chiefs, numbers of whom joined his standard; and the following year he was crowned king of that island. Robert Bruce passed over to his aid, and they advanced to Dublin and Limerick. But the severity of the weather forcing them to fall back to Ulster, Robert returned home; and Edward was afterward, on the 5th of October, 1318, defeated and slain near Dundalk. Robert, after

* Mr. Tytler bids us look at Ireland, as a proof of what Scotland in such case would have been. We answer this by bidding him look at Wales. There could be no analogy between Scotland and Ireland. The Scots differed little from the English, in language, manners, and laws.

his return, reduced Berwick in 1318, and spread his ravages to the Humber; and Edward, having vainly endeavoured to recover Berwick, in 1320 agreed to a truce for two years.

The feeble mind of Edward, incapable of self-reliance, felt a favourite to be indispensable. The place of Gaveston was therefore now occupied by Hugh le Despenser, the son of a most respectable old gentleman of the same name. Exclusive of any insolence of his own, the very circumstance of his being the favourite would have sufficed to render Spenser an object of enmity to Lancaster and the other factious barons; and an occasion soon occurred which set them at enmity with him. Spenser, having married one of the co-heiresses of the Earl of Gloucester, had become possessed of a large property on the marches of Wales. John de Mowbray, who had married the daughter of the Lord of Gower, whose estate lay contiguous to that of the favourite, on the death of his father-in-law, entered into possession of it without the usual livery of seizin from the crown. Spenser, who coveted the lands of Gower, now maintained that they were forfeit. The lords of the marches associated in 1321 for the defence of their rights. With a large force they entered the favourite's lands, took his castles, and destroyed all his property. They then marched into Yorkshire, and formed an alliance with Lancaster and the barons of his faction against the two Spensers; and, headed by Lancaster, they advanced towards London, wasting and destroying the estates of the elder Spenser on their way. From St. Albans they sent a message to the king, requiring the banishment of the Spensers, to which Edward returned a spirited refusal. They advanced, and took up their quarters about Holborn and Clerkenwell; whence, after some delay for consultation, they proceeded with armed men to Westminster, where the parliament was sitting, and forced the king and barons to assent to their demands. They then separated and retired to their homes.

But, ere two months were passed, the king saw

himself able to take vengeance on them. As the queen was on her way to Canterbury, she proposed to pass the night at the royal castle of Ledes. Lord Badlesmere, the governor, was absent; his wife refused her admittance; and some of her attendants even were slain. The queen complained loudly of the insult; the feelings of the nation were roused; and Edward was enabled to assemble an army, and attack and take the castle. Feeling himself now strong, he recalled the Spensers, as being banished illegally. The confederates had again recourse to arms; and they formed an alliance with Robert Bruce in 1322. The king advanced northward; and at Burton-on-Trent Lancaster held the royal troops for three days in check; but, when they forded the river, he retired into Yorkshire. On reaching Boroughbridge, he found the opposite bank of the river occupied by Sir Simon Ward and Sir Andrew Harclay. The Earl of Hereford was slain in attempting to force the bridge; and Lancaster, having vainly tried a ford, was obliged to surrender. He was conducted to his own castle of Pontefract, where he was arraigned before the king and some earls and barons. He was not permitted to make any defence; but, in regard for his royal descent, the sentence of hanging passed on him was commuted to decapitation. He was set on a gray pony without a bridle; his confessor walked by his side; and the people insulted and pelted him with mud. "King of Heaven," cried the unhappy nobleman, "grant me mercy, for the king of earth has forsaken me." On an eminence without the town the cavalcade halted; the earl knelt with his face to the east; he was made to turn to the north, whence he had looked for aid; and his head was then struck off. Twenty-eight of the captive knights were hanged as traitors; and others were fined or imprisoned. The elder Spenser was created Earl of Winchester, and several of the forfeited estates were bestowed on him.

Among the most important captives was Roger Mortimer, of Wigmore, one of the lords marchers of Wales. Having managed to corrupt one of the officers

of the Tower, he got to the river, where a boat was waiting for him; and on the other side he found his servants and horses. He eluded all pursuit, and reached the coast of Hampshire, where a ship lay ready; and, passing over to France, entered the service of King Charles, the queen of England's brother. This prince, under pretence of Edward's not having appeared at his coronation to do him homage, was planning to deprive him of his foreign dominions. It was suggested that the queen should go over to Paris, to exert her influence over the mind of her brother. She therefore visited France in 1325, with a splendid retinue; and a treaty similar to that by which Edward I. had been cajoled out of Guienne was concluded. The king, however, agreed to this treaty; and he was on his way to go and perform homage, when he fell sick at Dover. A proposal then came from the queen, that he should resign Guienne and Ponthieu to his son, who was then but twelve years old, and that Charles would accept the young prince's homage. Edward assented; the prince departed, promising a speedy return, and the homage was performed; but there was no sign of the return of the queen or her son. The king wrote in affectionate terms to both; and the queen replied, urging her fears of Spenser. Edward, in his answer, alleged that this was a mere pretence, as she and Spenser had always been on the best of terms. He also wrote to the pope, and to the king and peers of France; but all to no purpose.

The fact seems to be, that the queen was now living on terms of improper intimacy with Roger Mortimer, whose person and manners had gained her affections. Her brother, who knew not, or affected not to know, her dishonour, abetted her in her opposition to her husband; and Edward at length felt himself obliged to declare war against him. Isabella, now meditating nothing less than an invasion of England, and reducing the power of the Spensers by force, retired to the court of the Count of Hainault, to whose daughter Philippa she affianced her son in 1326.

Being furnished by the count with a force of two thousand men, and joined by all the English exiles, she set sail, and landed on the 24th of September at Orwell in Suffolk. In her train appeared the Earl of Kent, brother to the king; she was joined on landing by his other brother, the Earl of Norfolk, the Earl of Leicester, brother of Lancaster, and the bishops of Ely, Hereford, and Lincoln, all at the head of their vassals. Robert de Watteville, who was sent to oppose her, went over to her with his troops. Their march was directed to London; their sole object, it was declared, being the liberation of the king from the tyranny of the Spensers, and of the chancellor Baldock. Edward, having vainly tried to induce the citizens to arm in his defence, left the city; and he was scarcely gone when the population rose, seized and beheaded the Bishop of Exeter, robbed and plundered several other persons, forced the Tower, set at liberty the prisoners, and declared for the queen.

The king, attended by his favourites, retired to Bristol, closely pursued by the Earl of Kent and John de Hainault. Leaving the elder Spenser to defend the castle of that city, he proceeded with the younger Spenser to the marches of Wales; and, finding the people there little inclined to arm in his favour, he took shipping with his favourite for Lundy Island, at the mouth of Bristol Channel. The queen, with her forces, soon reached Bristol; and Spenser, finding the citizens mutinous, surrendered the town and castle on the third day. He was forthwith brought to trial on the charge of having unduly influenced the royal mind, advised the execution of Lancaster, etc. Like Lancaster, he was not allowed to make any defence. The venerable old man, of more than ninety years, was forthwith hanged as a traitor, and embowelled while alive. His body was cut into pieces and thrown to the dogs.

The unhappy king was prevented by adverse winds from reaching Lundy. He landed at Swansea; and, proceeding to Neath, sought to conceal himself in that neighbourhood. Meantime, the barons of the queen's

party, acting as a parliament at Bristol, declared the realm left without a ruler by his absence, and named the young prince guardian of the kingdom. Shortly after, Spenser and Baldock having been betrayed to Leicester, the king made a voluntary surrender of himself, and was conducted to the castle of Kenilworth.

Spenser was arraigned at Hereford before Trussler, the judge who had condemned his father. A string of the most ridiculous and improbable charges was made against him. He was, of course, condemned, and was hung, with a wreath of nettles on his head, on a gallows fifty feet high. The Earl of Arundel and two others were beheaded, as having consented to the death of Lancaster. Baldock, being a priest, was confined in Newgate, where he died.

From Hereford the queen returned to London, where a parliament having assembled on the 7th of January, 1327, the crafty Bishop of Hereford, the aider of all her projects, after expatiating on the vindictive character of the king, and the danger of trusting the queen in his hands, bade the members retire and come the next day, prepared to say whether it were better to restore the king or to appoint the prince to reign. In the morning the place was filled with turbulent citizens; but no one ventured to speak in favour of the king; the prince was proclaimed by acclamation; and the peers, four prelates excepted, swore fealty to him. A few days after, on the 13th, articles charging him with incapacity, indolence, cruelty, etc., were exhibited against the king, and he was deposed; but, as the queen burst into loud lamentations, and affected great scruples as to the legality of such a proceeding, to satisfy these pretended doubts, a deputation was sent to Kenilworth, with directions, by promises and threats, to extort what should be styled a voluntary resignation from the king. It is needless to say they succeeded; and, on the day after their return, the 24th, the accession of the new king was proclaimed by the heralds.

The deposed monarch was still left in the custody

of Leicester, now Earl of Lancaster; but, as that nobleman treated him with attention and kindness, he was taken from him and committed to Sir John Maltravers, by whom he was carried to Corfe, to Bristol, and finally to Berkeley; and it is said that gross insults and indignities were offered to him, in the hope of finally disturbing his reason.* The cause of this last removal was, that Lord Berkeley had been joined in commission with Maltravers. Berkeley, however, being ill, and away from home, the charge of guarding the king had devolved upon two of his officers, Thomas Gournay and William Ogle. On the night of the 21st September, shrieks were heard to ring through the castle; and in the morning, the neighbouring gentry and the citizens of Bristol were invited to behold the dead body of the deposed king. No marks of violence appeared; but the features were distorted, and it was reported that death had been caused by introducing a red-hot iron through a tube into his body. He was buried privately at the abbey-church of Gloucester, and no inquiry whatever was made at the time.†

Such was the fate of this most unhappy prince. Too simple and innocent for the time in which his fortune was cast, he perished the victim of his own weakness of character, and of the crimes of those who should have guided and protected him.

It was in the reign of Edward II. that the potent and wealthy order of the Knights-Templars was suppressed throughout Europe. The principal agents in the affair were Philip, king of France, and Pope Clement V. The tortures to which they were put were dreadful. Proceedings were taken against the order in England as elsewhere; but, as the court was not hostile to them, none were put to death.

* It was said that one day, when he was to be shaved, his keepers fetched dirty water out of a ditch for the purpose. He desired it to be changed; they refused; and he burst into tears, and cried that, in spite of their insolence, he would be shaved with clean and warm water.

† See Appendix (O).

CHAPTER VII.

EDWARD III. (OF WINDSOR).*

1327-1377.

Peace with Scotland.—Tyranny of Mortimer; his Seizure and Execution.—Affairs of Scotland.—Battle of Halidon Hill.—Edward claims the Crown of France.—Invasion of France.—The Countess of Montfort.—Invasion of France.—Battle of Creci.—Siege of Calais.—Battle of Poitiers.—State of France.—Peace of Bretigni.—The Black Prince in Spain; his Death.—Death of the King.—State of the Constitution.—Windsor Castle and the Order of the Garter.

THE reversal of attainders, and the confiscation of the estates of the Spensers and their adherents, were the first acts of the new government. Of these estates the larger portion went to Mortimer, now made Earl of March; and a sum of £20,000 (\$96,000) a year was assigned to the queen. A council of regency was appointed, the members of which were entirely under the control of the queen and Mortimer.

Though the truce with Scotland was not expired, Bruce seized the occasion of invading England, and poured a body of twenty-four thousand men into the northern counties, where they committed fearful ravages. The young King of England, having assembled forty thousand men, marched to Durham, and then crossed the Tyne, with the design of intercepting the Scots on their return. Having waited seven days to no purpose, he repassed the river, and at length found the Scots posted on a hill on the right bank of the Wear. The two armies remained for some days opposite each other, separated by the river. At length the Scots decamped in the night; and the English army, finding pursuit hopeless, returned to Durham. It

* Authorities: Hemingford, Walsingham, Knighton, Avesbury, Murimath, Fordun, and Froissart.

was disbanded, a few days after, at York. The following year, 1328, a peace was concluded with Scotland, whose absolute independence was acknowledged in the most ample manner; and Edward's sister Jane was betrothed to David, the son and heir of Robert Bruce.

The odium of this peace, at which the people were highly displeased, fell chiefly on Mortimer. This aspiring man, heedless of the fate of Gaveston and Spenser, far outwent them in insolence; and the haughty barons, especially the princes of the blood, could ill brook to see him, in effect, the ruler of the realm. They took arms; but Lancaster being deserted by the earls of Kent and Norfolk, was forced to submit and sue for pardon. Mortimer, being determined to strike terror into the princes, selected the Earl of Kent as his victim. His agents persuaded this weak but well-meaning man, that his brother, the late king, was still alive; and he was led to form projects for restoring him to his throne. When Mortimer thought he had sufficient evidence against him, he caused him to be seized and arraigned. The earl acknowledged his own letters, which were produced; he was found guilty, and sentenced to die as a traitor; and was beheaded the following day, March 21, 1330. His estates were given to Mortimer's youngest son, Geoffrey.

Mortimer probably now deemed his power secure: but, in reality, he had only reached the edge of the precipice. The young king had attained his eighteenth year; his spirit was high; and he could ill bear the restraint to which he was subject. He secretly confided his thoughts to Lord Montacute, who advised him to seize Mortimer at the parliament which was to be held at Nottingham. The king assented; and some persons who could be depended on were engaged in the design.

When the time for the meeting of parliament was arrived, the queen, with her son and Mortimer, took up their abode in the castle of Nottingham. For Mortimer's security, a strong guard lay in it; the locks on the gates were changed, and the keys were pla-

ced every night under the queen's pillow. Montacute informed Sir Thomas Eland, the governor, of the king's pleasure, previously swearing him to secrecy; and Eland then told him of a subterraneous passage, which was unknown to Mortimer, and through which he would admit the king's friends. Montacute rode with his friends into the country; and Mortimer, who had received some hints of their design, attributed their departure to their fear of discovery. Before midnight Eland admitted them through the passage. On the stairs leading to the principal tower they were joined by the king; and they ascended in silence till they heard the sound of voices in an apartment adjoining that of the queen, where Mortimer was in consultation with the Bishop of Lincoln and some other friends. They burst open the door, slaying two knights who defended it. The queen, in alarm, cried from her bed, "Sweet son, fair son, spare my gentle [noble] Mortimer." She then rushed into the room; but, in spite of her efforts, Mortimer was made a prisoner. Next morning, the 20th of October, the king announced that he had assumed the reins of government, and summoned a parliament to meet him at Westminster.

When the parliament met, on the 26th of November, Mortimer was accused of having set enmity between the late king and his queen, of having caused the death of the king and of the Earl of Kent, and of various other offences. He was condemned without hesitation, and hanged three days after, at the Elms at Tyburn, with his associate Sir Simon Bereford. The queen was confined to her manor of Risings, near London; and her income reduced to £3000 a year, which the king afterward increased to £4000. He paid her an annual visit of ceremony, but never allowed her to meddle in affairs of state. In this retirement she passed the remaining twenty-seven years of her life.

Scotland was the first object which attracted the attention of the young king. The English and Scottish lords had held lands in both kingdoms; and, at

the late peace, little care appears to have been taken for their interests. As Robert Bruce was now dead, the English claimants, finding that their king would not interfere, resolved, in 1332, to endeavour to regain their lands by the sword. They placed at their head Edward, son of John Baliol; and, having collected about three thousand men, embarked at Ravenspur, and landed, on the 6th of August, on the coast of Fife. Baliol then sent his fleet to the mouth of the Tay, and with his small army boldly marched into the interior. The Earl of Mar, the regent, had assembled two armies, each of thirty thousand men, led by himself and the Earl of March. Baliol came up with that of the regent at Duplin, crossed the river Earn in the night, and fell on and slaughtered the Scots in their camp. When the daylight showed the regent his enemies, he rallied his men and engaged them. A total defeat was the lot of the Scots. Mar himself, several of the nobles, and, it is said, twelve thousand men, were slain. Baliol then sped away to Perth, pursued by the Earl of March, who invested the town by land and by water; but the English ships attacked and defeated his fleet, and want of provisions obliged his army to disperse. The friends of his family now resorted to Baliol; and he was crowned at Scone on the 24th of September, having won a kingdom in less than seven weeks! His opponents then solicited a truce for assembling a parliament, to which Baliol consented; but, during the truce, he was suddenly attacked, on the 18th of December, at Annan, by the Earl of Moray, and was forced to seek refuge in the English borders.

Edward, who had, perhaps, given Baliol private encouragement, had, in the month of November, formed two secret treaties with him. By the one Baliol acknowledged the feudal superiority of England, gave up the town of Berwick, and offered to marry the Princess Jane, whose marriage with David Bruce had not been consummated. By the second, the two kings bound themselves to aid each other against all domestic enemies. As the Scots, by their incursions,

gave a pretext for charging them with a breach of the treaty of peace, Edward prevailed on his parliament to consent to a renewal of the war; and Baliol, in 1333, laid siege to Berwick, which was gallantly defended by the Earl of March. The siege had lasted two months when King Edward arrived. The operations were now carried on more vigorously; and the garrison gave hostages to surrender if not relieved by a certain day. The Earl of Moray, the regent, came with a numerous army and offered battle; but the English kept within their lines; and the regent, having put some knights and provisions into the town, retired and laid siege to Bamborough, where Queen Philippa was residing. Edward then required the garrison to surrender; but they replied that they had been relieved. He hanged one of the hostages, and they then agreed to admit the English at the end of three days, unless the English army should oblige them to raise the siege, or put in three hundred men-at-arms* between sunrise and sunset of the same day. On the afternoon of the third day, July 19th, the Scottish army appeared, and advanced to the attack in four divisions. Edward drew up his troops on Halidon-hill. The Scots had to make their way through marshy ground at its foot; and, in their progress, they suffered severely from the discharges of the English archers. Weary and in disorder, they reached the spot where the enemy awaited them. After a brave struggle, they were totally routed; the regent himself and several nobles were slain on the field; the fugitives were slaughtered without mercy, especially by the Irish in Edward's army; and the total number of the slain is said to have been thirty thousand. Berwick surrendered; the young king and his betrothed, the Princess Jane, who were at Dumbarton, were conveyed to France for safety. Baliol was acknowledged as king in a Scottish parliament, the fealty to Edward was renewed, and all the country eastward of a line drawn from Dumfries to Linlith-

* The men-at-arms were the heavy feudal cavalry, consisting of the knights and their esquires.

gow was ceded to him. But the Scots soon rose again against Baliol; and, after a contest of some years, David was enabled to return in 1341, and resume his crown.

It is not unlikely that Edward would have conquered Scotland, had not his attention been diverted from it by the prospect of a more brilliant though less solid acquisition. He was now induced to put forth a claim to the crown of France, in right of his mother. His father, Philip the Fair, had left three sons and this one daughter. The eldest son, Louis Hutin, who succeeded, died, leaving an only daughter. His queen, however, gave birth to a son shortly after his death; but this infant living only a few days, Philip, the brother of Louis, who had been appointed regent, was proclaimed king. The Duke of Burgundy asserted the rights of the young princess, who was his niece: but the states-general declared her and all females incapable of inheriting the crown. Philip died, leaving three daughters; and his brother Charles succeeded, who also died, leaving one daughter. His cousin-german, Philip of Valois, was made regent; and when, subsequent to the king's death, the queen gave birth to a daughter in 1329, he was placed at once upon the throne. This regulation of the descent of the French crown was said, though improperly, to depend on a law of the Salian Franks, hence called the Salic law; but the notion had probably grown up from the circumstance of the next heir, even from the time of Clovis, having always happened to be a male. The states, therefore, when called to decide after the death of Louis Hutin, naturally supposed such to be the law, and regulated the succession accordingly.

Edward of England was the only opponent of the claim of Philip of Valois. He fancied, at least he asserted, that though females could not inherit themselves, they could transmit a right to their male descendants; and he therefore claimed the crown of France in right of his mother. Nothing, however, could be worse founded than this claim; for, even

VOL. I.—A ▲

allowing the principle, the right of the King of Navarre, son of Jane daughter of Louis Hutin, was preferable to his. Accordingly, the twelve peers and the barons of France rejected his claim at once; and he was shortly after summoned to do homage to Philip for Guienne, with which summons he deemed it expedient to comply. Still there was no cordiality between him and Philip, who kept possession of some fortresses in Guienne, and aided the partisans of David in Scotland, though Edward offered him a large sum of money for those fortresses, and made various proposals of marriage between their children. At length Edward began to think of reviving and asserting his claim to the crown of France, to which, it is said, he was mainly impelled by the counsels of Robert, count of Artois, who, being obliged to fly from France for the forgery of public documents, had found refuge at the court of England in 1337.

The first object of Edward, when he had resolved on war, was to form as many alliances as possible. Through his father-in-law, the Count of Hainault, and by means of large sums of money, he gained the Duke of Brabant and some more of the neighbouring petty princes. He also formed an alliance with the Emperor of Germany. But he chiefly sought to win the Flemings; and here a phenomenon, unique north of the Alps, presented itself. Application was to be made, not to a prince, but to a leading demagogue; for in Flanders the people had, by trade and manufacture, acquired a degree of opulence and influence unknown elsewhere. They therefore would not tamely submit to the oppressions and extortions of their lords, but rose in tumults. They had driven their earl into France; and, like the Grecian and Italian cities in similar circumstances, were ruled with despotic power by their leaders. The *tyrant*, as in the Greek sense we may call him, of Flanders, at this time, was James Van Artaveldt, a brewer of Ghent; and to him did Edward condescend to sue.* Arta-

* "Demagogue" or "tyrant" as he might be, Froisart says,

veldt readily embraced his interests, and invited him to pass over to Flanders without delay. The king, having obtained a cheerful consent and a grant from his parliament, and raised more money by forced loans, by pawning the crown jewels, and seizing the property of the Lombards,* sailed over to Antwerp in the summer of 1338. But he found it impossible to excite his allies to action; and all he could obtain was a promise to join him the following summer, when the campaign should be opened by the siege of Cambray.

At the appointed time, in 1339, Edward found himself at the head of an army of fifty thousand men, with which he appeared before the walls of Cambray. He wasted its territory, and then entered France: but here the counts of Namur and Hainault quitted him, alleging feudal scruples. He advanced then for twelve leagues, wasting and burning as he went. His other allies now refused to go any farther in an enemy's country. Philip soon appeared with a more numerous host; and the two armies were drawn up in battle-array near Laon, but no action resulted. Both then retired; and Edward, having thanked and disbanded his allies, returned to England, having thus to no purpose wasted so much money, and being, in consequence, now £300,000 (\$1,440,000) in debt. While he was in Flanders, Edward, by the advice of Artaveldt, assumed the title of King of France, to satisfy the feudal scruples of the Flemings. He had also received from the emperor the title of "Vicar of the Empire," to enable him to command Germans. The pope at this time vainly sought to mediate between him and Philip.

The next year, 1340, Philip collected in the harbour

"there never was in Flanders, nor in any other country, prince, duke, nor other that ruled a country so peaceably and so long as D'Artaveldt."—*Am. Ed.*

* When the Jews were expelled, the trade of banking and money-lending fell into the hands of the Italian traders, who were mostly Lombards. Lombard-street (named from them) and its vicinity are still the great seats of banking in London

of Sluys an immense fleet, in order to intercept his rival on his passage. Edward immediately collected all the ships in the southern ports, and sailed to engage it. He found it moored in four lines across the passage into the harbour; the ships being fastened together with iron chains, and having turrets supplied with large stones at their heads. Edward at first put out to sea to get clear of the sun, which was in his eyes, and then bore down with wind and tide. After a stout resistance, all the ships in the first line were captured. Just then Lord Morley came up with a fleet from the northern ports; and the English advanced to attack the remaining lines, of which the last alone offered any opposition. The loss of the English was but two ships and about four thousand men; while nearly all the ships of the enemy were sunk or taken, and about thirty thousand men perished.

Edward landed the next day; his allies crowded to his standard; and, at the head of two hundred thousand men, he advanced to lay siege to Tournay and St. Omer. But those sent against the latter place (fifty thousand Flemings, under Robert of Artois) were seized with a sudden panic before they reached the town, and fled, leaving their arms and baggage behind them. Tournay was defended by a large garrison, and all Edward's assaults were repulsed. The King of France soon appeared with a numerous army; but, as before, he declined coming to an engagement. Edward, who desired a speedy issue, sent him a challenge to decide their quarrel by a single combat, by one of one hundred on each side, or a general engagement. As he addressed him simply as Philip of Valois, the King of France replied that it did not become him to take any notice of such letters. He upbraided Edward with his breach of fealty, and assured him he would chastise him when he thought proper. At length Jane of Hainault, sister to the one king and mother-in-law to the other, came from the convent to which she had retired; and, by her entreaties, engaged them to consent to an armistice for nine months, which

was afterward extended under the mediation of the pope.

Disputes with his clergy and nobility occupied Edward's thoughts for some time after his return home. He was immersed in debt; the emperor had been induced to withdraw his title of "Vicar of the Empire;" and he was disgusted with the lukewarmness and cupidity of the princes on whom he had lavished his money. He would therefore have probably given up all his designs on France, but for a new prospect that opened to him on another side.

John, duke of Brittany, being without issue, had, with the concurrence of the states, recognised as his heir Jane, the daughter of his brother Guy, and had married her to Charles of Blois, the French king's nephew. But, on the death of the duke in 1341, his half-brother, John earl of Montfort, though he had sworn fealty to Charles and Jane, made himself master of most of the strong places, and asserted his right to the succession. He then crossed over to England, and offered to do homage to Edward as King of France, if he would aid him against Philip; for the peers of France had decided in favour of Charles, and the king was preparing to restore him by arms. Edward, though Montfort's claim went on the very opposite principle to that by which he himself claimed the crown of France, readily made a treaty with him. Montfort returned to Brittany, and threw himself into the town of Nantes, where he was besieged by the Duke of Normandy, Philip's eldest son. The city was betrayed by the inhabitants; and Montfort was made a captive, and shut up in the tower of the Louvre at Paris.

But, though Montfort was a captive, his cause was still maintained. His wife Jane, sister to the Earl of Flanders, a woman of a most heroic spirit, when she heard of his captivity, assembled the citizens of Rennes, and, presenting to them her infant son, implored them to defend the last male issue of their ancient princes. Moved by her tears and eloquence, aided by the distribution of a large sum of money, they swore to live

and die in her cause. A similar spirit was shown in the other towns which she visited. Having sent her son for security to England, she shut herself up in the fortress of Hennebon, where, in the following spring of 1342, she was closely besieged by the troops of Charles. The countess herself, cased in armour, directed the defence and inspirited her men. One day, while the besiegers were busily engaged in an assault, she sallied forth by the opposite gate at the head of two hundred men, and attacked and set their camp on fire. Finding her return cut off, she ordered her men to disperse, and make, as best they could, their way to Brest; and, soon after, at the head of five hundred men, she forced her way through the hostile camp, and re-entered Hennebon in triumph. Fatigue and famine, however, were wearing away the garrison; and the Bishop of Leon was arranging the terms of a capitulation, when the countess, who had ascended the highest turret of the castle to look out to sea, saw sails in the distance. "The English! I see the English!" she cried aloud. The soldiers grasped their arms, the treaty was broken off, and Sir Walter Manny, who had long been detained by contrary winds, entered the harbour with a large force, and, sallying forth, drove off the besiegers.

The countess soon after made a voyage to England, to solicit more effectual succour. She returned with a fleet of forty-five ships, carrying troops commanded by Robert of Artois. A French fleet met them; and an action ensued, in which the countess displayed her usual heroism. They took the town of Vannes; but it was soon after recovered by some of Charles's party, and Robert of Artois died of a wound which he received. As the truce with France was now expired, Edward embarked in the autumn with twelve thousand men, and landed at Morbihan near Vannes; but he unwisely made three divisions of his force, and invested at the same time Vannes, Nantes, and Rennes. On the approach of the Duke of Normandy with a large army, he drew his forces again together; and both armies lay for some weeks of the winter opposite each

other. The papal legates then interposed their good offices, and a truce was concluded in 1343, for three years and eight months. The liberation of Montfort was stipulated, but Philip still detained him in prison. At the end of three years he made his escape, disguised as a merchant, but he died shortly after at Hennebon.

The truce was of short continuance, mutual infractions of it were complained of, and, in 1345, Edward had the address to induce his parliament to advise him to renew the war. The king's cousin, the Earl of Derby, son of the Earl of Lancaster, one of the bravest, most virtuous, and accomplished noblemen of the age, was sent with an army to Guienne. Landing at Bayonne, he advanced to Bordeaux: he then entered Perigord, and reduced several places. A town named Auberoche being now in the hands of the English, the Count of Lisle, the French general, secretly assembled twelve thousand men and invested it. Derby, with but three hundred men-at-arms and six hundred archers, hastened to its relief. At supper-time on the 23d of October, he burst into the enemy's camp, took or killed the general and principal officers, and dispersed the troops. He then attacked the camp at the other side of the town; the garrison at the same time made a sally; and of the whole twelve thousand men but few escaped. Derby pursued his career of victory; and at length the French government found it necessary to send the Duke of Normandy, with an overwhelming force, to oppose him.

The King of England, learning the danger of Guienne, prepared to lead a large force to its relief. He had lately gone over to Sluys, to meet the deputies of the Flemish towns, whom he wished to transfer their allegiance from their own count to his son Prince Edward. Artaveldt gave him all the aid in his power, and gained over some of the cities; but, in his own town of Ghent, the people had been turned against him, and they burst into his house on the 17th of July, and murdered him. This tragic event, however, did not break off the good feeling between the king and the Flemings, who engaged to invade France in concert with him.

In the month of July, 1346, Edward embarked at Southampton, with an army of four thousand men-at-arms, ten thousand archers, ten thousand Welsh, and six thousand Irish light troops, attended by the Prince of Wales, now fifteen years of age, and the principal nobility. He sailed for Guienne ; but, at the suggestion of Geoffrey d'Harcourt, a Norman exile, or perhaps such being his original design, he suddenly changed his course, and landed at La Hogue, in Normandy, on the 12th of July. He destroyed all the shipping in the adjacent ports, his troops spread their ravages over the whole country, and Caranton, St. Lo, Caen, and other towns were taken. He advanced along the left bank of the Seine in the hope of taking Rouen, intending then to march for Picardy, and join an army of forty thousand Flemings who were to invade France on that side. But he found the bridge at Rouen broken, and King Philip lying, with a numerous army, on the opposite side. He went farther up the river ; but every bridge was broken, and the French still moved as he did. He burned the towns ; his light troops even fired St. Germain, St. Cloud, Neuilly, and other places close to Paris ; but Philip, whose object was to surround and overwhelm him, would give no opportunity of fighting. Edward then had recourse to stratagem. Decamping early one morning from Poissy, he marched as if for Paris ; and, when he had ascertained that the French were in motion, he suddenly retraced his steps, crossed by the bridge, which his workmen had in the mean time repaired, and entered Pontoise. He then advanced rapidly, burning on his way the suburbs of Beauvais. On reaching the Somme, he found that all the bridges were secured, and that Philip was at Amiens, with 100,000 men. By the promise of liberty and a large reward, a peasant named Gobin Agace, who was among the prisoners, was induced to lead the English to a ford at Blanchetaque, near Abbeville, which might be passed at ebb-tide. They set out at midnight : the water was not sufficiently low when they reached it ; and, while they waited, they saw Godemar du Faye come with twelve

thousand men, and occupy the opposite bank, and every moment they expected to be overtaken by King Philip. At ten o'clock the tide was out; the men-at-arms entered the river; the French cavalry dashed in to meet them; the English fought with the valour inspired by despair; they drove them off with the loss of two thousand men; and all but a few stragglers were safely over when Philip came up. The rising of the tide prevented the passage of the French, and they were obliged to go round by the bridge of Abbeville.

Edward marched to Crotoi, on the coast, where he gave his troops rest and refreshment; and, great as was the disparity of their forces, he resolved to give Philip battle. He selected, for this purpose, an eminence behind the village of Creci (or Cressy); and, on the 26th of August, disposed his troops in three divisions, each composed of men-at-arms and archers; the latter placed in front, in the form of a harrow. The Prince of Wales, aided by the earls of Oxford and Warwick, led the first; the earls of Arundel and Northampton the second; the king himself the third, or reserve. Trenches were sunk on the flanks; the baggage was placed in a wood in the rear; and the horses were all removed, that the danger might be common. The king, who, according to the custom of the age, had at dawn heard mass and received the sacrament, rode along the lines, cheering the men; and at ten o'clock they took their breakfast, each sitting down where he stood. The French, who had halted for a day at Abbeville, were now advancing. Some knights who were sent forward, when they saw the firm array of the English, advised the king not to give battle till the next day. Philip assented, and word was given to halt; but the orders were not understood, or were neglected; and the troops rolled on, in confusion and disorder, till they came in view of the English. Philip then, filled with rage, and departing from his usual caution, ordered the Genoese cross-bow-men to form and begin the fight. These were a body of six, or, as some say, fifteen thousand Geno-

ese and other Italians, led by two of their nobles, of the Grimaldi and Doria families. They were followed by the king's brother, the Count of Alençon, at the head of a splendid body of cavalry. The rest of the army succeeded, in four divisions, under the king in person. The number of the French army is variously given, at from sixty to one hundred and twenty thousand men.

The combat of men was preceded by that of the elements. A partial eclipse had dimmed the sun; flights of birds flew screaming over the two armies, precursive of a storm; and soon the thunder roared, the lightning flashed, and the rain descended in torrents. At five in the afternoon the sky cleared, and the sun shone bright in the eyes of the French. The Genoese then gave three shouts, levelled their ponderous cross-bows, and discharged their bolts. The English archers received the discharge in silence; then, drawing their long-bows from their cases, they showered their cloth-yard arrows thick as snow on the Genoese: who, as they required time to recharge their bows, fell into disorder. The Count of Alençon, calling them cowards, ordered his knights to cut them down. This but increased the confusion. Many of the knights were unhorsed by the English archers; and the Welshmen ran forward and despatched them with their knives. When clear of the Genoese, the cavalry pressed on. The prince and the men-at-arms were nearly surrounded when the second line advanced; and a knight was sent to Edward, who viewed the fight from the summit of a windmill, praying him to send more aid. "Is my son slain or wounded?" said he. "No!" replied the envoy. "Then," said he, "tell Warwick he shall have no aid. Let the boy win his spurs. He, and they who have him in charge, shall earn the whole glory of the day." This reply gave fresh vigour to the English: the Count of Alençon was slain, and his troops routed. The King of France then advanced to the relief; but the showers of arrows fearfully thinned his ranks: his horse was killed under him; his friends in vain urged him to re-

tire ; and at length, when it was growing dark, John of Hainault laid hold of his bridle, and forced him to quit the field. They fled to Amiens ; but the fight was still kept up in various parts till terminated by the increasing darkness. When the prince approached, Edward sprang forth to meet him : " Fair son," cried he, as he clasped him to his bosom, " continue your career. You have acted nobly, and shown yourself worthy of me and the crown."*

Next morning a dense mist covered the sky, under which a body of English fell in with and routed the militia of Amiens and Beauvais, and a body of knights, led by the Bishop of Rouen and the grand prior of France. When the sun dispelled the mist, thousands of the French were seen, who had passed the night under the trees and hedges ; and these unfortunate men were slaughtered without mercy. At noon, the lords Cobham and Stafford were sent with heralds to examine the field of battle. They brought to the king eighty banners ; and reported the death of eleven princes, twelve hundred knights, fourteen hundred gentlemen, four thousand men-at-arms, and thirty thousand common men. The most illustrious of the slain was John, king of Bohemia. This prince, who was blind from age, had ordered four of his knights to lead him into the thick of the battle, " That I too," said he, " may have a stroke at the English." They then interlaced his and their own bridles, rushed forward, and all were speedily slain. His crest, of three ostrich feathers, and his motto, " Ich dien" (*I serve*), were adopted by the Prince of Wales, and still are those of the heir-apparent of England.

A few days after his victory, Edward advanced and laid siege to the town of Calais, in order to have possession of a port on the French coast. As he resolv-

* According to the Florentine annalist G. Villani, Edward was greatly indebted for his victory to his cannon, now for the first time employed in battle. It seems strange that so remarkable a circumstance should have escaped the notice of Froissart. Villani died within two years after the battle : his testimony is therefore the stronger.

ed to trust to the effects of blockade, he placed a numerous fleet before the harbour, and constructed a large number of huts for the shelter of his troops during the winter. The governor, John de Vienne, bent on making an obstinate defence, drove all the useless mouths, to the number of seventeen hundred persons, out of the town. The king generously let them pass through the lines, and gave each of them two pieces of silver.

The Duke of Normandy being obliged to retire from Guienne, the Earl of Derby crossed the Garonne, laid waste Ancenis, Saintonge, and Poitou, stormed the city of Poitiers, and advanced to the Loire. In Brittany, Charles was defeated and made prisoner by the Countess of Montfort ; but his cause was sustained by his wife, also a heroine. At the call of his ally, the King of France, David of Scotland made an inroad into Cumberland, and ravaged the country. The English collected, in Auckland Park, a force of twelve hundred men-at-arms, two thousand archers, and seven thousand militia. Queen Philippa rode among them, encouraging them to fight bravely, when they raised a cheerful shout ; and, having recommended them to God and St. George, the queen retired. The armies engaged at Neville's Cross, near Durham, on the 17th of October ; the Scots were defeated, with the loss of fifteen thousand men ; and the king himself, and several of his nobles, were conducted prisoners to London.

Edward, in the mean time, lay patiently before Calais, expecting the sure effects of famine, which soon began to be felt. De Vienne now turned five hundred more persons out of the town ; but no passage would be given through the English lines, and they perished miserably from want of food and shelter. Though a fleet with supplies contrived to enter the port during the winter, the famine became more and more severe ; and, when all the animals in the town had been eaten, and they must surrender if not relieved, Philip at length, in July, 1347, appeared, with an army of a hundred and fifty thousand men. But the only roads by which

he could approach the English camp were secured against him; and, though Edward accepted his challenge to a general engagement, he retired on the eve of the appointed day. The garrison immediately hoisted the ensign of England; and the governor, from the walls, proposed to Sir Walter Manny, who was at hand, to surrender, on condition of their lives and liberties being secured. Edward, however, would accept of nothing short of unconditional surrender; but at length he agreed to be content with the lives of six of the principal burgesses.

The people met in the market to hear these terms. It seemed to them dreadful to sacrifice their fellow-citizens; but no other means of relief appeared. While they remained in perplexity, Eustace de St. Pierre, one of the leading citizens, stepped forward and offered his life for his townsmen. Another and another then appeared, and the number was soon complete. The gates were opened; and De Vienne issued forth, mounted on a palfrey on account of his wounds, and followed by fifteen knights, bareheaded, with their swords pointed to the ground. Then came the six voluntary victims, bareheaded, barefooted, in their shirts, and with halters in their hands; such being the usage in similar cases. When they came before Edward, the governor presented him his sword and the keys of the town; then, falling on his knees with his companions, implored his mercy. Edward was, or affected to be, inexorable, and heeded not the entreaties of his barons. The executioner appeared, and orders were given for the death of the six devoted citizens, when the queen came forth, and, falling on her knees, with tears interceded for their lives. "Dame," said Edward, "I wish you had been in some other place: but I cannot deny you." She took them to her tent, clothed and entertained them, and, at their departure, presented each with six nobles (\$9.60).^{*} The king expelled most of the inhabitants from Calais, and peopled it

^{*} It is not improbable that the whole scene had been previously arranged between the king and queen.

with his own subjects, making it the mart for the chief productions of his kingdom.*

The capture of Calais was succeeded by an armistice ; which, under the mediation of the pope, was prolonged for six years. During this period, 1348, England suffered, in common with the rest of Europe, from the dreadful plague which then spread its ravages over it, and thousands of her people perished.

Edward, now conscious that he could not succeed in making good his claim to the crown of France by arms, proposed to renounce it on condition of the provinces which he held being ceded to him in sovereignty. This proposal Philip indignantly rejected : but, on his death in 1350, his son and successor, John, seemed willing to listen to it. Envoys met at Guisnes, and it was arranged that the renunciations should be made in the presence of the pope ; but the prelates and nobles of France declared their determination not to permit their king to part with the rights of the crown. The war, therefore, was resumed in 1355 ; and the Black Prince (as the Prince of Wales was called, from the colour of his armour), opened the campaign by marching from Bordeaux, at the head of sixty thousand men, towards the eastern Pyrenees, wasting and destroying the country. Under the walls of Toulouse he vainly offered battle to the French forces ; he then advanced, and burned parts of the cities of Carcassonne and Narbonne. He returned to Bordeaux after an absence of but seven weeks, having in that short time destroyed more than five hundred cities, towns, and villages.

The king, in the mean time, at the head of a gallant army, had advanced from Calais to near Amiens : but King John would give no opportunity of fighting, and want of provisions obliged him to return. Tidings of the Scots having surprised Berwick, and crossed the borders, recalled Edward to England. At Roxburgh he purchased from Baliol his title to the crown

* Such of the inhabitants as were willing to swear fealty to Edward were allowed to remain. Among those who did so was Eustace de St. Pierre !

for 5000 marks (\$9600) and £2000 a year (\$16,000); and then, in 1356, marched through the Lothians as far as Edinburgh, with the banner of Scotland displayed before him, wasting and burning the country in all directions; but want of provisions at length forced him to retire. This destructive inroad was long remembered in Scotland, under the name of "Burnt Candlemas."

In the autumn of this year, the Black Prince, at the head of about twelve thousand men, of whom but a third were English, left Bordeaux on another plundering expedition. He crossed the Garonne at Agen, overran Querci, the Limousin, Auvergne, and Berri, slaughtering the peasantry, destroying the corn, wine, and provisions, and burning the farmhouses, villages, and towns. Having failed in attempts on the cities of Bourges and Issoudon, he commenced his retreat through Poitou. But, on coming to the village of Maupertuis, within five miles of Poitiers, he suddenly fell in with the rear of a large army, led by King John in person: for this monarch, on hearing of the ravages committed by the prince, had summoned his vassals to Chartres; and, crossing the Loire at Blois, had advanced rapidly, in order to get into his rear. "God help us!" then cried the prince; "it only remains for us to fight bravely."

The prince drew up his small army on an eminence, the sides of which were covered by vineyards intersected by hedges. A single lane, so narrow that only four horsemen could go abreast in it, led to the summit. The men-at-arms on foot, with one half of the archers out before them, in the usual form of a harrow, were posted in front of the lane; while the remaining archers lined the hedges at its sides. The French army, which was seven times as numerous, and mainly composed of cavalry, was drawn up on a moor at the foot of the hill, in three divisions; all the horsemen, except three hundred knights and esquires, having been made to dismount. All now was ready for the attack, when the Cardinal Talleyrand Perigord appeared; and, with uplifted hands, implored

the king to spare the effusion of Christian blood ; and, having obtained a reluctant permission from him, he rode to the prince to propose a negotiation. " Save my honour and the honour of my army," said Edward, " and I will hearken to any reasonable terms." He then offered to resign all his conquests, booty, and prisoners, and to bind himself not to serve against France for seven years. The surrender of himself and a hundred of his knights was the only condition on which John would grant a retreat to his army ; and this the prince indignantly rejected. Night came on, and each side prepared for battle in the morning.

At dawn on the 19th of September, the trumpets sounded on both sides, and all hastened to their posts. The cardinal, having made a final fruitless effort on the mind of the king, rode to apprise the prince, who replied with calmness, " God defend the right !" The minister of peace departed. The first division of the French, led by the marshals d'Andreghen and Clermont, at the head of the three hundred horsemen, entered the lane unopposed ; but, when they had advanced some way, the word was given ; and from both sides, and with increasing rapidity, the English arrows were showered on them. Men and horses fell in heaps ; some knights dashed through the lanes, others through the hedges, and emerged on different spots of the open upper ground ; but still the arrows flew, and one marshal was slain and the other unhorsed and taken. The rearmost retreated to their second division, which was led by three of the king's sons ; but the archers now advanced, and assailed it in front ; while a body of six hundred men, led by the Captal de Buche, came from an adjacent hill and fell on its left flank. It wavered ; and the lords who had charge of the young princes sent them off the field with a large escort. The rest of the division then broke and fled. " Sir," cried Sir John Chandos to the prince, " the field is won : let us mount and charge the French king. I know him for a dauntless knight, who will never flee from an enemy : the attempt may be a bloody one, but, please God and St.

George, he will be ours." Instantly they mounted ; and, pouring down the lane, emerged on the moor. The Duke of Athens, the Constable of France, advanced to meet him ; but he and most of his followers were slain in a few minutes. A body of German cavalry was next dispersed ; and the king, urged by despair, then led up his division on foot. He long fought with fruitless valour ; his nobles had fallen by his side ; he had received two wounds in the face, and had been beaten to the ground. Every one was anxious to seize him : a young knight advanced, and, falling on his knee, implored him to surrender to save his life. "Where is my cousin, the Prince of Wales?" demanded the king. "He is not here," replied the knight. "Who, then, are you?" "Denis de Morbeque of Artois ; one obliged to serve the King of England, being banished from France." The king gave him his sword ; and his son Philip also became a prisoner.

In the battle the Prince of Wales had shown the valour of a hero : his conduct after the victory has gained him fame of a higher and purer order. When the captive monarch was led to the tent which he had caused to be pitched for himself on the field of battle, he came forth to meet him with every mark of courtesy and respect. His own victory he ascribed entirely to chance : the king, he said, had that day won "the prize and garland" of chivalry. At table he waited on him, declaring himself, as a subject, not entitled to the honour of sitting with him. He led his royal captive to Bordeaux ; and, having concluded a truce for two years with the Dauphin,* he embarked, in the spring of 1357, for England. He landed with his prisoners at Sandwich, and thence proceeded to London. As he approached, on the 24th of May, the people poured forth to meet him ; arches were thrown across the streets, and tapestries and costly stuffs

* The province of Dauphiné had been left to the late King Philip by its last prince, on condition of the heir-apparent to the throne of France being thenceforth styled the Dauphin.

were hung from the windows. The captive monarch rode on a cream-coloured charger, splendidly caparisoned: the victor appeared on a small pony at his side. The cavalcade at length reached Westminster Hall, where King Edward sat amid his prelates and nobles. He arose when John entered, embraced him, and led him to partake of a splendid banquet. The Savoy Palace, and afterward the Castle of Windsor, were assigned as a residence for the French monarch and his son.

The King of Scotland had been now eleven years a captive; and Edward, thus master of the persons of the two monarchs his rivals, and hopeless of conquering their kingdoms, resolved to derive what advantages he could from their present situation. Negotiations had long been going on with the Scottish king and nation, and it was finally arranged, on the 3d of October, that "Sir David, king of Scotland," as Edward now condescended to call him, should be set at liberty, on his engaging to pay 100,000 marks (\$320,000), in twenty half-yearly instalments, and giving the heirs of his principal nobility as hostages.

The condition of France after the fatal battle of Poitiers, induced Edward to make larger demands on the other captive monarch. The authority of the Dauphin was little heeded; the states-general, when assembled, insisted on large measures of reform; the populace of Paris, headed by Marcel, their mayor, committed great excesses; and their example was followed in the other great towns. The mercenaries, who had served under Edward, left without pay or employment, divided into numerous bands, and ravaged and pillaged the towns and country in a terrific manner. To complete the misery, the serfs or peasantry, long goaded and exasperated by the tyranny and cruelty of their lords, rose in arms;* and, as was to be expected from men who were brutally

* Sir James Mackintosh, in giving an account of this insurrection of the French peasantry, says, "This revolt of slaves, who, having lost all hope, might well say 'Farewell fear, farewell remorse' was the only disorder which, on the Continent, disturbed

ignorant and maddened by oppression, committed every atrocity that the foulest imagination can conceive.*

Under these circumstances, in 1359, King John, after much hesitation, consented to the terms which his captor imposed, namely, the restoration of the provinces which had belonged to the crown of England, to be held in absolute sovereignty. A treaty to this effect was made on the 24th of March; but, when it was transmitted to France, it was unanimously and indignantly rejected by the states. Edward then, complaining of their insincerity, bade them prepare for war at the end of the truce.

In the autumn, on the 28th of October, King Edward passed over to Calais with a gallant army. The mercenary soldiery crowded to his standard; and, at the head of a force of a hundred thousand men, arranged in three divisions, he entered the French territories. Having ravaged Picardy, he advanced to Champagne, where he laid siege to Rheims, the city where the coronations of the kings of France were held, intending to have that ceremony performed on himself; but it was gallantly defended against him by the archbishop, and he was obliged to retire. He then led his host into Burgundy, whose duke purchased a truce for 50,000 marks (\$160,000); then, following the course of the Seine, he appeared before the gates of Paris. But, though it was now the spring, in the year 1360, the severity of the season was such, that, joined with the want of provisions, it forced him to retire, with the precipitation of a flight, towards Brittany. In the vicinity of Chartres, on the 13th of April, the English army was exposed to one of the most dreadful tempests of wind, hail, thunder, and lightning on record; and the king is

the enfranchisement of the peasants; the most extensive, spotless, and beneficent revolution recorded in history since the delivery of woman from perpetual imprisonment, and uncontrolled slavery by the abolition of polygamy."—*Am. Ed.*

* This insurrection was named the *Jacquerie*, from *Jacques*, a common name among the peasants.

said, in an agony of remorse, to have stretched his arms towards the cathedral, and to have vowed to God and the Virgin to refuse no terms of peace compatible with his honour.

The negotiations, which had still been pending, now went on with vigour; and at length, on the 8th of May a treaty, named the "Great Peace," was signed at Bretigni, by which the King of England agreed to resign all claim to the crown of France, or to Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine; and to restore all his conquests except Calais and Guisnes: but he was to retain Poitou and Guienne and their dependencies, and Ponthieu, the inheritance of his mother, in full sovereignty. A ransom of three million crowns of gold was to be paid for King John, in the course of six years. Edward then set out for England; and John was sent over to Calais, at which place, on the 24th of October, the two kings met, and solemnly ratified the treaty, and the latter was restored to liberty. But, though John was enabled to put the King of England in possession of the ceded provinces, he could not readily overcome the repugnance of his son and nobles to the renunciation of his sovereignty over them; and the poverty of the country, moreover, prevented him from paying up the instalments of his ransom. On these and other accounts he resolved to pay a visit to England; and, when his council endeavoured to dissuade him, he nobly replied, that, if honour were banished from the rest of the earth, she should find an abode in the breast of princes. He was received with the utmost affection and respect by Edward, and lodged in the palace of the Savoy; but he shortly after fell sick and died; and his remains were sent for interment with those of his ancestors at St. Denis, on the 8th of April, 1364.

Charles, the dauphin, on succeeding to the crown, adhered to the peace of Bretigni, disadvantageous to him as some of its provisions were. He also, when Charles of Blois was slain at the battle of Auray in Brittany, acknowledged the title, and received the homage of the young Count of Montfort. The chief

difficulty which he had to contend with arose from the mercenaries of King Edward; who now, to the number, it is said, of forty thousand, divided into numerous bands, calling themselves the "Free Companies," and, under different leaders, spread their ravages over all parts of the kingdom. They defeated the troops sent against them, and set at naught the papal excommunications. At length a favourable occasion presented itself for getting rid of these ferocious marauders.

Peter IV. of Castile, justly named the Cruel, from the time when he ascended the throne, had been guilty of numerous murders, from various motives. Among his victims were his father's mistress, Leonora de Guzman, and three of her sons. The two remaining sons escaped into France; and, as Peter was accused of having poisoned his queen, a French princess, it was resolved to aid Henry, one of the exiles, against the tyrant. The celebrated Breton knight, Bertrand du Guesclin, was directed to treat with the leaders of the Companies; many French knights crowded to his standard; and, at the head of thirty thousand men, he entered Spain, and without a battle placed Henry on the throne of Castile. Peter fled to Corunna, and thence to Bayonne, whence he proceeded to Bordeaux, to solicit the aid of the Black Prince; who, under the title of Prince of Aquitaine, ruled from the Loire to the Pyrenees. The royal murderer met with a most gracious reception; his lavish promises were gladly listened to; and secret orders were sent to the Companies, twelve thousand of whom, under Sir Robert Calverly and Sir Richard Knowles, returned to Guienne. Though it was in the depth of winter, Edward entered Spain at the head of thirty thousand cavalry; and, on the 3d of the following April, 1367, he engaged and defeated the army of Henry, on the plain of Navarete. All Castile submitted to Peter; but the ungrateful tyrant mocked at his engagements to his ally; and the prince returned to Bordeaux, baffled in hope, and with a constitution materially injured. The crimes of Peter, however, did not go unpunished: he

fell the following year by the dagger of his brother Henry.

In consequence of the bad faith of Peter, the Prince of Wales was now deeply in debt. To raise money, he imposed a hearth-tax on his subjects, which some paid with great reluctance, while the Count of Armagnac and others appealed to Charles as their superior lord, the renunciations having never been complete. After some delay, this prudent monarch sent a summons to the prince, as Duke of Aquitaine, to appear before his court. He replied that he would ; but it should be at the head of sixty thousand men. This, however, was but an empty boast : for his power was gone. War was declared ; the French troops entered Ponthieu, Poitou, and Guienne ; the people were generally in their favour ; Charles, the constable of Guienne, was slain in one action, and his successor, the Captal de Buche, captured in another. The state of his health obliged the prince to return to England. English armies, to no purpose, marched through and ravaged various parts of France ; and nothing finally remained to the English, in 1374, except Calais, Bordeaux, Bayonne, and some places on the Dordogne.

The brilliant reign of Edward closed in gloom. The Black Prince, after his return, finding all the powers of the state in the hands of his brother, the Duke of Lancaster, and being either jealous of him or really disapproving of his conduct, put himself at the head of the opposition, in what was called the " Good Parliament," from the number of reforms which it endeavoured to effect.* But, after lingering a few years, this gallant prince died in 1376, in the forty-sixth year of his age, leaving behind him the character of a skilful commander, a wise statesman, and an accomplished knight ;† rivalled in these respects by no man of the time except his father. He was interred in the cathedral of Canterbury, where his tomb may still be seen.

* It gave the first example of parliamentary impeachment of persons in office.

† See Appendix (P).

The Black Prince, who had espoused his cousin Joan, called the "Fair Maid of Kent," daughter and heiress of the Earl of Kent, who had been put to death by Mortimer, and widow of Sir Thomas Holland (by whom she had children), left by her an only son, named Richard of Bordeaux, from the place of his birth. This young prince was declared heir to the throne.

The king himself soon followed his renowned son to the grave. He spent the closing years of his life in retirement, first at Eltham and then at Shene. After the death of Queen Philippa, a lady of her bed-chamber, named Alice Perrers, a married woman, had acquired great influence over him. He gave her all the jewels of the deceased queen; and she disposed of the royal favours in such a manner, that an especial ordinance of parliament was made to restrain her. This woman was with the king through his last illness. On the morning of the day on which he died, she drew, we are told, the ring from his finger and left him; and his servants then fell to pillaging the palace. The dying monarch lay alone and unheeded, till a benevolent priest came to his bedside, warned him of his situation, and bade him prepare to meet his Creator. Edward had just strength enough to thank him, and to take a crucifix in his hands, which he kissed with tears, and then breathed his last, on the 21st of June, 1377.

Thus terminated the life and reign of Edward III., the most glorious (in the vulgar sense) which English history presents.* The monarch had lived sixty-four, and reigned fifty years. Never was there a prince more fitted to gain the affections of a proud, high-spirited people. He was brave, chivalrous, and generous;

* How strikingly do the wars, the wholesale massacres and devastations during the reign of this prince, exemplify the truth of the remark, that, "While one murder makes a villain, a thousand makes a hero." Nor can we help reflecting to how much nobler uses history might be turned, by stripping away all false disguises, and fearlessly exposing the atrocities of men in their true moral aspect.—*Am. Ed.*

he delighted in the sports of the field and the martial conflicts of the lists ; his domestic administration was at once vigorous and prudent ; and his victories in war cast a halo of splendour around his brows. As such he appeared to his contemporaries ; to *us* he perhaps shows with still more lustre in the picturesque pages of Froissart, where he occupies so prominent a station.

By his queen, Philippa of Hainault, who died in 1369, Edward had seven sons and five daughters. Of these sons two died in infancy ; the Black Prince and his next brother, Lionel, duke of Clarence,* died also before their father. This last, who had married the heiress of De Burgh, earl of Ulster, left an only daughter, who married Edmund Mortimer, earl of March. Edward's remaining sons were John of Gaunt (Ghent) duke of Lancaster, Edmund, earl of Cambridge, and Thomas, earl of Buckingham.

Though, as we have already observed, we must morally condemn the aggressions of Edward on France, and we see that with all the waste of blood and treasure no acquisition of importance was made, yet it is possible that the effect on the nation was good. Great victories elevate the tone of national feeling, and inspire a lofty consciousness of strength. They foster a spirit of noble daring and of generous self-reliance, and possibly Creci had no mean effect in forming the military character of England. But, however this may be, the constitution gained by the wars of Edward. To obtain the money which they required, he was forced to convoke frequent parliaments. With each grant of supply, the commons, as was then the mode, sent a petition for the redress of some grievance ; and, though perhaps baffled at the time, they returned again and again to the charge, and in most cases finally succeeded. Three great principles were now fully established, namely : that

* The title of *duke* occurs now for the first time in English history.

money should not be raised without the consent of parliament; that no alteration of the laws should be made without the concurrence of both houses; and that the commons might inquire into abuses and impeach ministers. The law of treason, passed in this reign (called the 25th of Edward III.), and which is still the law, was a measure of the greatest importance. By it treason is limited to three cases: compassing the death of the king; levying war against him; and aiding his foreign enemies within his kingdom. The assembly by which this statute was enacted was, not without reason, named "The Blessed Parliament."

According to a most competent authority (Sir Matthew Hale), "the law was in this reign improved to its greatest height. The judges and pleaders were very learned. The pleadings are more polished than those in the time of Edward II., yet they have neither uncertainty, prolixity, nor obscurity: so that, at the latter part of this king's reign, the law seemed to be near its meridian." By a statute (the 36th of Edward III.) it was ordained that, in pleadings and public deeds, the English language should be employed in place of the French.

This monarch may perhaps also be styled the father of English commerce. In 1331 he invited over a number of Flemish artisans, who were disgusted with the oppressive spirit evinced by their corporations. He settled them in Norfolk; and they introduced the manufacture of the finer woollen cloths, which had been hitherto unknown in England. Edward had some difficulty in protecting them against the selfish spirit of the English corporations.*

However religious Edward may have been, he was no abject slave to Rome. He withheld the tribute

* "The history of Corporations," says Hallam, "brings home to our minds one cardinal truth: that political institutions have very frequently but a relative and temporary usefulness; and that what forwarded improvement during one part of its course, may prove to it, in time, a most pernicious obstacle." (See Hallam's *Middle Ages*, p. 476, Harpers' edition.)

of 1000 marks (\$3200) a year, extorted from John; and when the pope, Urban V., threatened the usual vengeance, he laid the affair before his parliament, who put a final end to the matter by declaring that John had no right to bind his kingdom without its consent; adding, that they would stand by the king if the pope attempted to enforce his claim. Again, the Peterpence had long since been commuted to a certain sum; but, as England was now become much more populous, the pope wished to levy it in the original manner. He found, however, the resistance too strong, and gave up the project. The rapacity of the papal court at this time exceeded all measure; and, between first-fruits and other devices of its chancery, the taxes levied by it in England, it was said, far exceeded those paid to the crown; and as, by what were called *provisions*,* the pope assumed the right of nominating to vacant benefices, which he conferred on Italians and other foreigners, the revenues of a large portion of the church were annually remitted to these pluralists, who perhaps never set their foot in the kingdom. To remedy this evil, the statute of Provisors was passed (called the 27th of Edward III.), making it penal to procure any presentation from the church of Rome; and another, outlawing any one who carried an appeal to Rome. Parliament even went so far as to speak of expelling the papal authority by force, and thus ridding themselves of its intolerable oppressions.†

This was an age of architectural splendour. The stately castle of Windsor was built by Edward. Each county was assessed in a certain number of carpenters, masons, and tylers; and thus the magnificent edifice rose, by the compulsory labour of the people, like the Pyramids of ancient Egypt.

In this reign, 1349, England was desolated by the great plague, which then spread its ravages over the whole of Europe. It is said to have carried off a

* See above, p. 216.

† "Men," says Hume, "who talked in this strain were not far from the Reformation."

third of the population. The supply of labour not equalling the demand after it ceased, the natural result was a general rise of wages ; but the commons, grudging the poor this slight improvement in their condition, had a law passed, limiting wages to what they had been before the plague. It is needless to say that this law was not and could not be observed.

The order of the Garter was instituted by Edward. The tradition is, that the Countess of Salisbury having dropped her garter when dancing, the king picked it up ; and, seeing the courtiers smile, said, "*Honi soit qui mal y pense*" ("Shamed be he who thinketh ill thereof"), which became the motto of the order.

APPENDIX.

A, page 17.

AUTHORITIES.

THE history of Britain under the Romans is derived from Cæsar, Suetonius, Tacitus, Dion Cassius, and the other historians of the first five centuries of the Christian era. In Hume's, Lingard's, and the other large histories, the particular references will be found. Early in the eleventh century of the Christian era, a history, said to be founded on documents in the British language, was written by a monk named Geoffrey of Monmouth. It is a mere collection of fables, and is of no authority whatever.

For the subsequent history the following are the principal sources.

Gildas, a British prince, wrote in the sixth century: his remains are idle lamentations, with hardly any historical notices. The brief notices of Nennius, a monk of Bangor, come down to the year 625.

The ecclesiastical history of Venerable Bede, a monk of Wearmouth, in Northumbria, and the best writer of his age in Europe, relates the most important events from the landing of the Saxons in 449 to 734.

The following, mostly monks, in various monasteries, compiled histories, chronicles, etc., usually from some early period down to their own times. In the latter part of their works they are, therefore, to be regarded as contemporary authorities. Some commence at the Creation; others adopt the fables of Geoffrey of Monmouth. In the following list of them, we will take the landing of the Saxons as the earliest date, regarding all that may precede it in their chronicles as forming no part of English history.

The Saxon Chronicle of the Abbey of Peter-	}	449 to 1153
borough extends from		
William, a monk of Malmesbury, from	}	— - 1143
Henry, a monk of Huntingdon		
Florence, a monk of Worcester, and his con-	}	— - 1154
tinuator of the same name and place		
Alured or Alfred, a monk of Beverley	}	— - 1154
John of Wallingford, a monk of St. Alban's,		
then prior of Wallingford, and finally abbot of	}	— - 1208
St. Alban's, and his continuator		
Ranulf Higden, a monk of St. Werburgh's at	}	— - 1066
Chester		
Matthew, a monk of Westminster	}	— - 1307
T. Otterburne, a Franciscan friar		
		— - 1413

J. Brompton, abbot of Jorvaulx in Yorkshire	588 to 1198
Simeon, a monk of Durham	700 - 1130
Roger Hoveden	732 - 1202
Chronicle of Mailros	735 - 1272
Henry Knighton, a monk of Leicester	950 - 1395
Annals of Burton Abbey	1004 - 1263
Annals of Margan Abbey	1066 - 1232
Annals of Waverley Abbey	— - 1291
William, a monk of Newbury or Newbridge in } Yorkshire	— - 1197
Matthew Paris and his continuator Rishanger, } both monks of St. Alban's	— - 1273
Walter Hemingford or Hemingburgh, a monk } of Gisleburgh in Yorkshire	— - 1300
T. Wikes, a monk of Oseney	— - 1304
Gervasius, a monk of Canterbury	1122 - 1199
Radulf de Diceto, dean of St. Paul's, London	589 - 1199
M. Trivet, principal of the Dominicans at Lon- } don	1136 - 1307
T. Walsingham, a monk of St. Alban's	1273 - 1422
Adam Murimuth, canon of St. Paul's, London	1302 - 1343
J. Whethamstede, abbot of St. Alban's	1411 - 1461
J. Rossus or Rous, a priest at Guyacliffe in } Warwickshire	449 - 1485
W. Wyrcestre or Botoner, a gentleman	1426 - 1491

The histories of the abbies of Canterbury, Ely, and Ramsey also furnish many circumstances. That of Canterbury, by W. Thorn, extends from its foundation to 1375; that of Croyland, by Ingulf and his continuators, from 626 to 1486; that of Ely from Edgar to the Conquest; and that of Ramsey from Athelstan to the Conquest.

The rime-chronicle of Robert of Gloucester extends from the earliest times to the end of Henry III.; that of Peter Langtoft to the end of Edward I.; and that of Harding to the Accession of Edward IV.

The prose-chronicle of Fabyan ends with Henry VIII.; Halle's extends from the accession of Henry IV. to the end of Henry VIII.; Grafton's from the accession of Richard I. to that of Elizabeth; Holingshed, Speed, and Stow narrate the events from the earliest times to 1586, 1605, and 1631 respectively.

To these are to be added More's and Buck's histories of Edward V. and Richard III.; Bacon's of Henry VII.; and Herbert's of Henry VIII. Polydore Virgil, an Italian agent of the Holy See in England in the time of Henry VII. and VIII., wrote a narrative of English affairs in their reigns.

Exclusive of the biographies of saints, as those of Dunstan by Eadmer and Osberne, and that of Becket by Stephanides or Fitz-Stephen, there are lives of particular kings, such as that of Alfred by Asser, bishop of Sherborne; that of Edward the Confessor by Ethelred, abbot of Revesby (*Rivallis*), in Lincoln; the

life and death of Edward II. by Sir Thomas de la Moor; and that of Edward III. down to the year 1356, by Robert Avesbury, keeper of the registry of the court of Canterbury. There is also the account of the expedition of Richard I. to the Holy Land by Walter Vinisauf, who accompanied him; the "Gesta Regis Stephani" by an anonymous author, and the lives and deeds of Henry II. and Richard I. by Benedict, abbot of Peterborough. The conquest of England by William the Norman is related by his chaplain, William of Poitou (*Pictavensis*), and by William of Jumièges (*Gemmeticensis*); and another Norman historian, Ordericus Vitalis, carries the history down to the year 1140. The Scottish historians, such as Fordun and Wintoun, are authorities for the Scottish, and Froissart, Monstrelet, and others for the French wars of the kings of England.

Finally, the "Fœdera" of Rymer, and the "Rolls of Parliament," and "Statutes of the Realm," furnish most valuable information to the student of English history.

B, page 19.

BRITISH TRIBES.

The following were the principal British tribes or nations: 1. Damnonii (Cornwall and Devon). 2. Durotriges (Dorset). 3. Belgæ (Somerset, Wilts, Hants, Wight). 4. Atrebatii (Berks). 5. Regni (Surrey, Sussex). 6. Cantii (Kent). 7. Dobuni (Oxford, Gloucester). 8. Cattieuchlani (Beds, Bucks, Herts). 9. Trinobantes (Essex, Middlesex). 10. Iceni (Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, Huntingdon). 11. Coritani (Northampton, Leicesters, Rutland, Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby). 12. Cornavii (Warwick, Worcester, Stafford, Salop, Cheshire). 13. Silures (South Wales). 14. Dimitæ (Caermarthen, Cardigan, Pembroke). 15. Ordovices (North Wales). 16. Brigantes (from the Humber to the Tees). 17. Ottaduni (thence to the Tyne).

C, page 29.

NAMES OF PLACES.

The names of most places show their Saxon origin. Thus, the Saxon *býrig*, *bunh* (*town*), exhibits itself in *bur*, *bury*, *borough*, *brough*, as Burton, Sunbury, Brougham; *ƿeod* (*place*), in *stead*, *sted*, as Hampstead; *hýrƿe* (*forest*), in *hurst*, as Penshurst; *leag* (*lea*, *plain*), in *lay*, *ley*, *lea*, *leigh*, as Layton, Bexley, and a number of proper names, as Stanley, Ashley, Townley, Raleigh; *ƿeop* (*abode*), *stow*, *sto*, as Godstow, Walthamstow; *clonp* (*village*), in *thorp*, *throp*, as Althorp; *ƿeopnig* (*street*, *village*, *farm*), in *worthy*, *worth*, as Worthy, Holdsworth, Tamworth, Isleworth; *ham* (*home*, *dwelling*), in *ham*, as Witham, Petersham, Grantham; *ig*, *eye* (*island*), in *e*, *ea*, *ey*, as Eton, Eaton, Thorney; *tun* (*town*), in *ton*, as Whitton, Kingston; *ƿeoc* (*tree* or *wood*), in *stock*, *stoke*, as Woodstock, Basingstoke; *ceap* (*traffic*), in *chepe*, *chip*, *chipping*, as

Chippenham, Chipstead, Chipping Ongar, East Cheap; *ford* (*ford*), in *ford*, as Thetford, Stratford, Stafford; *burn* (*stream*), in *burn*, *born*, as Kilburn, Holborn, Sherborn; *byrge* (*bridge*), in *bridge*, Cambridge; *feld* (*field*), in *field*, as Wakefield; *mot* (*mouth*), in *mouth*, as Portsmouth, Plymouth; *hȳtche* (*landing-place*), in *hithe*, as Rotherhithe (Redriffe), Queenhithe, Lambhithe (Lambeth); *hlay* (*eminence*), in *low*, as Marlow, Ludlow. The Danish *bye* (*town*) may be found in Derby, Whitby, and many towns and villages on the eastern coast; the Roman *castrum* in *cester*, *chester*, Worcester, Winchester; *vicus* in *wich* and *wick*, Norwich, Chiswick; and *stratum* in *strat*, *street*, Stratford, &c. Celtic names are rare. In this language *anhain* (pr. *awan* or *ocean*), akin to *amnis*, is a *river*, and *uisge* or *iske* is *water*. There are three or more rivers in England named Avon the same as the former, and the Axe, Exe, Esk (to which we may perhaps add the Isis, Ouse, and Wash) are connected with the latter. *Don* is, in Celtic, an eminence or fort; and it seems to have remained in Doncaster, Dunstable, etc.

D, page 47.

ALFRED THE GREAT.

The pleasing anecdote of the manner in which this great prince first became acquainted with letters, is related by Asser, his friend and biographer. Its truth, therefore, cannot well be questioned: yet it is not without its difficulties, as will thus appear. In 855, when Alfred was but six years old, his father married the French princess Judith; we are therefore to suppose that the queen, Alfred's mother, was then dead. In 857 Ethelbald married his father's widow: he was succeeded in 860 by his brother Ethelbert, who must have been then grown up. In 861, therefore, when Alfred was twelve years old (and Asser says it was when he was twelve or more),* there only remained Ethelred and himself to contend for the book, and where was their mother then?

The other anecdote of Alfred and the herdsman's wife is to be found in most MSS. of Asser; but Mr. Wise, the Oxford editor of his work in 1722, says, in a note, "Hic loci mutilus est Codex Cott;" and as the life of St. Neot is quoted as the authority for it (a thing most improbable for the Bishop of Sherborne to do, who could have had the story from the king's own lips), we regard it as an interpolation. At the same time, we see no reason whatever to doubt its truth.

E, page 61.

VALUE OF MONEY.

The sums mentioned as paid to the Danes were in pounds of

* "Usque ad duodeclmum ætatis annum et eo amplius illiteratus permansit"—Up to the age of twelve or more, he was without the knowledge of letters.

twelve ounces of silver, delivered by weight and not by tale; and it is probable that the far greater part was uncoined. At the present day a pound of standard silver is coined into *sixty-six* shillings, i. e., 3*l.* 6*s.* (about \$15 80). But as four of these go for seignorage or duty for the cost of manufacture, the mint price of bullion is 5*s.* 2*d.* an ounce, and the pound of silver is worth 3*l.* 2*s.* We should therefore multiply the sums mentioned in the text by three, in order to obtain their apparent value at the present day. The cause of this is the unjust and impolitic practice, so often recurred to by governments in the middle ages, of lowering the standard by diminishing the quantity of metal in the various coins, in order to be able to pay their debts and other engagements with a smaller portion of the precious metals. In England, as we see, the pound sterling has been reduced to about a third of its original weight; but the Scots *pund* is only about the thirty-sixth, and the French *livre* or *franc* about the sixty-sixth part of the pound Troy.

Computed in this manner, the various sums paid by King Ethelred to the Danes will not appear very enormous; the largest of them, 48,000*l.*, being only about 144,000*l.*, and the total of 128,000*l.*, paid in a space of twenty-one years, being about 384,000*l.* (\$1,843,000).

But we should err very widely if we supposed this to be the real value of the quantity of bullion delivered to the Danes; a pound of silver had a far greater command over food and other necessaries in those days than it has at present. It is not incumbent on us to enter here into the question of the origin of value; it may suffice to say, that the more rare (from whatever cause) anything is, for which there is a constant demand, the greater will be its value in exchange. Now the precious metals, during the whole course of the middle ages, were remarkably scarce in Europe; the mines of Spain, and other parts whence the people of the old states used to derive them, being nearly or altogether exhausted, and there having been, ever since the time of the end of the Roman republic, a constant drain of them to the East in exchange for the commodities of that region.

The price of corn, though but an indifferent measure of value, is perhaps the best that can be had, as the quantity of it requisite for the support of a human being is pretty much the same at all times. The average price of the quarter of wheat (eight Winchester bushels) from 1827 to 1837, a space of ten years, has been 2*l.* 16*s.* (\$12 60); and we may compare with this the accounts of prices in the middle ages. In the "Wealth of Nations" there is a table given of the prices of wheat; but, as earlier accounts could not be procured, it does not go higher than the commencement of the 13th century. Rejecting from it the high famine prices and the very low ones of years of extraordinary plenty, we may say that, during that century, the price of wheat ranged from 3*s.* to 12*s.* the quarter, 8*s.* equal to 1*l.* 4*s.* (\$5 76), being perhaps the average. In the succeeding century the average was,

it would seem, not more than 6s.=18s., and in the 15th century about 5s.=10s., the standard having been reduced. For the first half of the 16th century, the average seems to have been 8s.=8s., the quantity of silver in the shilling being the same as it is now. From this time, in consequence of the influx of the precious metals from the mines of America, their value sank, and the prices of wheat for a century ranged from 1*l.* 10s. to 3*l.*

By the "Statute of Labourers," passed 1360, in the reign of Edward III., the wages of a master-mason were fixed at 4*d.* (8 cts.) a day, those of carpenters, tilers, and others at 3*d.* (6 cts.), and their journeymen at 1*d.* (3 cts.); haymakers had 1*d.* (2 cts.), reapers 2*d.* (4 cts.) and 3*d.* (6 cts.), and mowers 5*d.* (10 cts.) a day. It also appears that in the thirteenth century a sheep might be bought for 1s. (48 cts.) and an ox for 10s. or 12s. (from \$2 40 to \$2 88).

From a consideration of these prices, Mr. Hallam is led to the conclusion, that to bring sums mentioned in the thirteenth century to their present value, we should multiply by twenty-four, and for the time of Henry VI. by sixteen. These multiples, however, seem to us to be much too large. Considering the very inferior kind of food, raiment, etc., used by the lower classes in those times, 2s. or even 1s. 4*d.* a day is too much for the wages of a day-labourer.

F, page 82.

FORCES OF THE DUKE OF NORMANDY.

The number of William's ships was 3000, according to Gemeticensis. Wace, in his "Roman de Rou," says he had heard of that number, but that his father had told him there were only 696. The "Chronique de Normandie" says that some said there were 907 ships besides the small craft.

G. Pictavensis, William's chaplain, estimates the army at sixty thousand men, of which fifty thousand were *milites*, that is, men-at-arms, or knights and squires. As, however, the number of knights in the roll of Battle Abbey is but four hundred, Sismondi ("Hist. des François," iv., 352) says, that if we calculate according to the military usages of the age, and compare William's armament with that of the fourth crusade, of which alone we have an exact enumeration of the component parts, the result will be as follows: Each of the four hundred knights had ten *suivans d'armes*, or armed followers, which gives four thousand four hundred horsemen; each *suivant* had three archers or crossbow-men, making twelve thousand; and, adding the crews, the whole might amount to twenty or twenty-five thousand men.

This account has been adopted by Sir James Mackintosh; but, as we shall presently show, it is founded on the false assumption of the roll of Battle Abbey being a contemporary document, and a complete list of all the knights in William's army. Pictavensis is a sober and veracious historian; and, as he was actually pres-

ent, he could hardly have fallen into the error of magnifying the army so far beyond its real amount ; yet he might have chanced to double the number of the horsemen, as he probably had no guide but his eye for estimating it. On the whole, we see no great improbability in the common account of the Conqueror's army having contained sixty thousand men ; but of these the greater part must have been infantry, as the horsemen formed but one division at the battle of Hastings.

G, page 85.

ROLL OF BATTLE ABBEY.

Duchesne, at the end of his "*Scriptores Rerum Normannicarum*," gives the following list of names.

Cognomina nobilium qui Guill. Norm. ducem in Angliam sequuti sunt—Family names of the nobles who followed William, duke of Normandy, to England.

[*Ex tabula Monasterii de Bello in Anglia vulgo Battail Abbey*—From the Records of the monastery of Bello in England, commonly called Battail (Battle) Abbey.]

Aumerle.	Berners.	Beawper.
Audeley.	Braybuf.	Bret.
Angilliam.	Brand.	Barret.
Argentoun.	Bonville.	Barneville (Barn-
Arundell.	Burgh.	wall?).
Avenant (<i>Davenant</i>).	Busshy.	Barry.
Abel.	Blundill.	Bodyt.
Awgers.	Breton.	Berteville.
Angenoun.	Belasys.	Bertine.
Archer.	Bowser.	Belew.
Asperville.	Boyon.	Buschell.
Amondervila.	Bulmere.	Beleners.
Arey (<i>Airey</i>).	Broune.	Buffard.
Akeny.	Beke.	Boteler (<i>Butler</i>).
Albeny.	Bowlers.	Botville.
Asperemound.	Banestre.	Brasard.
Bertram.	Belomy.	Belhelme.
Buttecourt.	Belknap.	Braunche.
Bræhus.	Beauchamp.	Bolesur.
Byseg.	Bandy.	Blundell.
Bardolf.	Broyleby.	Burdet.
Basset.	Burriel.	Bigot.
Bohun.	Belot.	Beapount.
Baylife.	Beufort.	Bools.
Bondlevile.	Baudewine.	Belepoune.
Barbason (<i>Brabazon</i>).	Burdon (<i>Burton</i> ?).	Barchampe.
Beer.	Berteuyley.	Camos.
Bures.	Barte.	Chanville.
Bonylayne.	Busseville.	Chawent.
Bardayon.	Blunt.	Chancy

Couderay.	Daniel.	Frissel (<i>Frizell</i>).
Colvile.	Denyse.	Felioll.
Chamberlaine.	Druell.	Fitz Thomas.
Chambernowne.	Devaus	Fitz Morice.
Cribet.	Davers.	Fifz Hughe.
Corbine.	Doningsels.	Fitz Warren.
Corbet.	Darell.	Faunvile.
Coniers.	Delebere.	Formay.
Chaundos.	De la Pole.	Formiband.
Coucy.	De la Lind.	Frison.
Chaworthe.	De la Hill.	Finer.
Claremaus.	De la Ware.	Fitz Urcy.
Clarell.	De la Watche.	Furnivall.
Camnine.	Dakeny.	Fitz Herbert.
Chaunduyt.	Dauntre.	Fitz John.
Clarvays.	Desuye.	Gargrave.
Chantilowe.	Dabernoune.	Graunson.
Colet.	Damry.	Gracy.
Cressy.	Daucros.	Glanvile.
Courtney.	De la Vere.	Gouer (<i>Gower</i>)
Constable.	De Liele.	Gascoyne.
Chancer (<i>Chaucer</i> ?).	De la Warde.	Gray.
Cholmeley.	De la Planch.	Golofer.
Corlevile.	Danway (<i>Hanway</i> ?).	Grauns.
Champeney (<i>Champ-</i>	De Hewse.	Gurly.
<i>neys</i> ?).	Disard.	Gurdon.
Carew.	Durant.	Gamages.
Chawnos.	Diury.	Gaunt.
Clarvaile.	Estrange.	Hansard.
Champaine.	Estutaville.	Hastings.
Carbonell.	Escriols.	Haulay.
Charles.	Engayne.	Husie (<i>Hussey</i>).
Chareberge.	Evers.	Herne.
Chawnes.	Esturney.	Hamelyn.
Chawmont.	Folvile.	Hanwell.
Cheyne.	Fitz Water.	Hardel.
Cursen (<i>Curzon</i>).	Fitz Marmaduk.	Hecket (<i>Hacket</i>).
Conell.	Fibert.	Hamound (<i>Ham-</i>
Chayters.	Fitz Roger.	<i>mond</i>).
Cheynes.	Fitz Robert.	Harecord (<i>Harcourt</i>)
Caterey.	Fanecourt.	Jarden (<i>Jardine</i>).
Cherecourt.	Fitz Philip.	Jay.
Chaunvile.	Fitz William.	Janvile.
Clerency.	Fitz Paine.	Jasperville.
Curly.	Fitz Alyne.	Karre (<i>Carr</i>).
Clyfford.	Fitz Ranulfe.	Karron.
Deauville.	Fitz Browne.	Kyriell.
Dercy (<i>Darcy</i>).	Foxe.	Lestrangle.
Dine.	Frevile.	Levony.
Dispencer (<i>Spencer</i>).	Faconbrige.	Latomere (<i>Latimer</i>).

Loveday.	Morley.	Russel.
Logenton.	Mountmartin.	Rond.
Level.	Myners.	Richmond.
Leecrope (<i>Scrope</i>).	Mauley.	Rocheford.
Lemare.	Mainwaring.	Reymond.
Litterile (<i>Luttrell</i>).	Mantell.	Seuche.
Lucy.	Mayel.	Seint Quintine.
Lislay or Liele.	Morton.	Seint Omer.
Longspes.	Nevile.	Seint Amand.
Longeschampe.	Neumarche.	Seint Leger.
Lastels.	Norton.	Somerville.
Lindsay.	Norbet.	Sanford.
Loterel (<i>Luttrell</i>).	Norece (<i>Norris</i>).	Somery.
Longuaile.	Newborough.	Seint George.
Lewawse.	Neele.	Seint Lés.
Loy.	Normanville	Savine.
Lave.	Otenel.	Seint Clo.
Le Despencer (<i>Spen-</i>	Olibef.	Seint Albine.
<i>cer</i>).	Olifaunt.	Seint Barbe.
Marmilon.	Oysell.	Sandevile.
Moribray.	Oliford.	Seint More (<i>Sey-</i>
Morville.	Oryoll.	<i>mour.</i>)
Manley.	Pigot.	Seint Scudemor.
Malebranche.	Pecy (<i>Pacey</i>).	Tows.
Malemaine.	Perecount.	Toget.
Muschampe.	Pershale.	Talybois.
Musgrave.	Power.	Tuchet (<i>Touchet</i> .)
Mesni-le-Villers.	Paynel.	Truslot.
Mortmaine.	Peche.	Trusbut.
Muse.	Peverell.	Traynel.
Martaine.	Perot.	Taket.
Mountbocher.	Picard.	Talbot.
Maleville.	Pudsey.	Tanny.
Mountnay.	Pimiray (<i>Pomeroy</i> ?)	Tibtote.
Maleherbe.	Pounsey.	Trussell.
Musgros.	Punchardon.	Turbeville.
Musard.	Pynchard.	Torel.
Mautravers.	Placy.	Tavers.
Merke.	Patine.	Torel.
Morris (<i>Morris</i>).	Pampilion.	Tirell.
Montagu.	Poterell.	Totels.
Montolent.	Pekeney.	Taverner.
Mandute.	Pervinke.	Valence.
Manle (<i>Manley</i>).	Penicorde.	Vancord (<i>Fancourt</i> ?)
Malory.	Quincy.	Vavasour.
Merny.	Quintine.	Vender.
Muffet.	Rose.	Verder.
Merpincoy.	Ridle.	Verdon.
Mainard.	Rynel (<i>Reynell</i>).	Aubrie de Vere.
Morell.	Rous.	Vernoune.

VOL. I.—D D

Verland.	Unket.	Waren.
Verlay	Urnall.	Ware.
Vernois.	Wake.	Wateline.
Verny.	Waledger.	Watevile.
Vilon.	Warde.	Woly.
Umfravile.	Wardebus.	Wyvel.

We do not think that this can claim to be esteemed a contemporary document; for it omits the names of some, such as Fitz Osberne and Lacy, who, we know from *Pictavensis*, were among the victors of Hastings, and it inserts names, such as Arundel, which are derived from places in England. We may also observe that some names are repeated in it. There are other lists of the companions of the Conqueror differing from this in many particulars; one is given by Brompton, and therefore cannot be later than the twelfth century; another was procured, apparently from Battle Abbey, by one of his friends, for William Wyrcestre, and will be found in the "*Liber Niger Scaccarii*," published by Hearne. In the first volume of Leland's "*Collectanea*" we meet a third, and in the same place is a list of those who fought under the banner of William de Moion at Hastings.

All the names in these lists may, we think, be regarded as either those of the companions of the Conqueror, or of Normans or Frenchmen who settled in England in the time of the Anglo-Norman monarchs. Those, therefore, who now bear them may justly speak of a long line of known ancestry.

H, page 85.

FATE OF HAROLD.

We have, in the text, endeavoured to reconcile the accounts of *Pictavensis* and *Malmesbury*. The former says, that William buried Harold on the strand; the latter, that he gave the body to his mother, by whom it was interred at Waltham.

According to the *Annals of Waltham*, two of the brethren, Os-good and Ailric, followed Harold to Senlac. After the battle they craved permission of the victor to search for the body of their benefactor. Leave was granted; but they were unable to recognise it among the piles of the slain. They then went and fetched Harold's mistress Editha, called the Swan's Neck for her beauty; and her affectionate eye quickly discerned his mangled remains, which they forthwith conveyed to Waltham.

Others said that Harold was conveyed alive to Dover; that he recovered of his wounds, visited several parts of the Continent and the Holy Land, and ended his days as an anchorite in a cell near the abbey of St. John at Chester.* Finally, Knighton says, that William gave Harold's body to his mother without any ransom; that he was not quite dead, and that he lived for nine months.

* *Giraldus Cambrensis*, *Itin. Wallie*. Harleian MS., 3779. Turner, *Anglo-Saxons*, ii., 419, 6th edit.

I, page 86.

ANGLO-SAXON TERMS.

Eorl answers to the Scandinavian Jarl (pr. Yarl); the eund in eorlcundman would seem to be connected with *cyn*, *kin*, and Eorlcundman to be therefore a man of the race of the Eorls. It is obvious that the modern word earl is merely the Saxon eorl, which was probably pronounced *yerl*, as the modern word is provincially *yerl*.

Sidcundman is said to be derived from *sidian*, *to go*, and therefore to signify *comes*, *companion*. Lye thinks that *sidesman* is derived from it.

Hlaforð, which has been corrupted into *lord*, and hlafeþig, *lady*, seem to be connected with *hlafr*, *loaf*, *bread*, as being the dispensers of food to those under them.

Ceorl, the *churl* of the modern language, is the opposite of eorl. It is, perhaps, best explained by the term *peasant*. The ceorl was also called *bonde*, which still remains in the words *husband* (*hur-bonde*, *pater-familias*) and *husbandry*, and *gebun*, whence the word *boor*, which, like *churl*, has acquired an evil sense, signifying rudeness and brutality; just as *villain*, the Latin *villanus*, now denotes a man devoid of moral feeling.

Heorð-fæst is composed of *heorð*, *hearth*, and *fæst*; *close*, *firm*; as in the modern *holdfast*, *fast asleep*, *fast by*.

Folge is merely a follower, from *folgian*, *to follow*. In Ireland the term *follower* is still used to denote a person of the lower order, whose family has long been in the service of a family of higher rank.

The word *þeow*, *slave*, has, we believe, left no trace in the modern language.

Degen, *Begn*, *thane*, is derived from the verb *þegman*, *to serve*, and answers to the German *diener*. Cniht, *knight*, also signified a *boy*, *lad*, or *servant*, the German *knecht*. It is curious to remark the honourable sense which these two terms acquired in Anglo-Saxon and English, while their German kindred remained in their original obscurity.

Genepa, like *gebun*, lost its first syllable in the progress of time, and became *reeve*. It is the same word as the German *graf*, a *count*; and here it is the German word which occupies the place of honour. We retain the word *reeve* in *portreeve*, *sheriff*, i. e., *shire-reeve*. In Scotland *reeve* is still used for a steward or bailiff, as in old English.

Mot or gemot is simply *meeting* or *meeting-place*, from *metan*, *to meet*; the city of London still has its wardmotes: *rcire*, *shire*, is a *division* from *rciran*, *to sheer* or *share*; *tun*, *town*, comes perhaps from *tynan*, *to enclose*. It is to be observed that this term retains its primitive Anglo-Saxon use in Scotland and Ireland, where it is employed to express a mansion-house and its land,

which in the latter country is called a town-land. It would appear from the "Life of Colonel Hutchinson," that in the seventeenth century this primitive usage of the word *town* continued in some parts of England; perhaps it does so still.

Lade signifies *purgation*, from *ladian*, to discharge, hence *lade* is also *the mouth of a river*; *opðæl* is *judgment*, the German *urtheil*; *bote* is *boot, compensation*.

We have thus, we believe, explained all the Anglo-Saxon terms in the text which require any elucidation; but, before we conclude this article, we will make a few remarks on that language.

It will be observed that nearly all the words which are written with *ch* in modern English are written with *ce* or *ci* in Anglo-Saxon: as, *ceap, chaff*; *cealc, chalk*; *ceapian, to cheapen (buy)*; *ceo, chough*; *ceþnan, to churn*; *ciban, to chide*; *cild, child*; *ceoler-ige, Chelsea*; etc. Farther, that the English *sh* takes the place of the Anglo-Saxon *rc* before the vowels *e* and *i*, as *rcæd, shade*; *rcæl, shall*; *rcæp* or *rcæp, sheep*; *rcæp, sharp*; *rcip, ship*; *rcilling, shilling*; *rcyld, shield*, etc.; and also in some other cases; as, *rcpud, shroud*; *cildrc, childish*; *ceoprc, charlish*; *englrc, English*; *mæp, marsh*.

As these exactly correspond with the usage in the Italian language (*cento, cibo, lancia, lasciare*), might we not infer that our forefathers said *chorl* and not *keorl*; *child* and not *kild*; *ship* and not *skip*; and that the modern mode of pronunciation prevailed in Italy in the sixth century when the missionaries introduced the orthography of that country into England? Indeed, though it is highly probable, we have no convincing proof that the old Romans themselves did not pronounce Scipio and Cicero *Shipio* and *Chichero*, rather than *Skipio* and *Kikero*; for it is quite clear that they did not say *Sipio* and *Sisero*.

The Anglo-Saxon *z* seems, like our *y*, to have frequently served merely to lengthen the preceding vowel, as in *regan, to say*, and many other infinitives, in *regl, sail*, *fuþl, fowl*, *dæg, day*. In the beginning of a word it may have sounded like *y*, as *regl-gýnd, sail-yard*. This may explain the loss of the first syllable in *gerefa* and other words, and the change of *ze* into participles into *y*, as *geboren, y-born*.

That *z* was sometimes mute is farther proved by the substitution of *h* for it, as *býpuz, buph*; and we write the Anglo-Saxon *cnlht, knight*. This also explains why *gh* is mute in English words.

In manuscripts the Anglo-Saxon *z* is frequently used for *y*; and as it resembles a *z*, editors commonly print that letter for it, and thus we meet with *zet* and *rizt* for *yet* and *right*, and similar absurdities. In some Scottish proper names the *z* appears to the eye, while a *y* meets the ear. Thus Menzies is pronounced Menyies, and Dalzell, Dalyell. In like manner, the *y* in *y^e, the, y^e, that*, etc., is apparently the Anglo-Saxon *th, th*.

K, page 154.

THOMAS A BECKET.

In Stephanides' or Fitz Stephen's very interesting biography of Becket, the following curious traits of manners occur :

Becket ordered his dining-room (*hospitium*) to be strewn every day in winter with fresh straw or hay ; in summer with fresh rushes or green leaves, that a clean and neat floor might receive the multitude of knights whom the benches could not contain, lest their precious garments or handsome shirts (*camisia*) should be spotted by the dirt of the floor.

When serious matters were over, Becket and the king used to play like boys. One severe day in winter, as they were riding through one of the streets of London, the king saw a poor old man with a threadbare coat approaching. He pointed him out to the chancellor, and asked him if it would not be a great charity to give him a thick, warm cloak. He replied that it would, and that it became the king to attend to such things. By this time the poor man had come up ; they stopped ; the king asked him if he would like to have a good cloak, and, turning to the chancellor, said, " In sooth, you shall do this great act of charity." He then seized his rich new cloak of scarlet and gris, and attempted to pull it off ; the chancellor resisted ; in the struggle they were both near coming to the ground ; the knights and nobles who were following them could not conceive what they were at. At length the chancellor yielded ; the king gave the cloak to the poor man, and then told the story.

L, page 177.

FAIR ROSAMOND.

Brompton, who loved a romantic tale, is the earliest author who notices the story of Fair Rosamond. Fabyan, the next who notices it, says the king " had made her a house of a wonder-working, so that no creature, man nor woman, might win [get] to her, but if he were instruct by the king or such as were right secret with him, touching the matter. But the common fame telleth, that lastly the queen came to her by a clew of thread or silk, and dealt with her in such a manner that she lived not long after." Hollingshed adds, that the king happened to draw the clew of silk with his foot from her chamber to the entrance. Speed says, that as Rosamond was sitting out in the air, she was startled at the sight of those who were in quest of her ; she ran in, but dropped her clew, and the end caught in her foot and thus unwound. In the ballad, the knight who had charge of her is called out ; he is then slain, and his clew seized ; the queen goes in, and forces Rosamond to drain a bowl of poison.

The progress of the tale is this : Henry kept Rosamond privately, hence the notion of a labyrinth ; this suggested the clew of Ariadne ; then some mode was to be devised by which the

queen obtained it. On Rosamond's tomb, among other ornaments, was the figure of a *cup*, and hence the poisoning was added.

There is no doubt of Longsword's being the son of Henry and Rosamond. The Earl of Salisbury died in 1196, and after his death King Richard gave the heiress Ela to his natural brother William, who was then probably about five-and-twenty. Longsword died in 1226 after his return from Guienne, whither he had accompanied the king's (Henry III.) younger brother Richard. As, from the narrative in Paris, he appears to have been in full vigour at that time, and his death was ascribed to poison, he was probably not more than fifty-five.

We have gone into these details because it is said that Geoffrey, archbishop of York, who was born in 1159, was Henry's *youngest* child by Rosamond. This throws back the amour with Rosamond to the beginning of his reign, and makes Longsword nearly seventy when he died. We may farther observe, that, according to Dugdale, Rosamond's *eldest* brother Walter died in 7 Henry III. (1222), that is, when Geoffrey was sixty-three. It is therefore probable that Geoffrey was not his nephew.

The common derivation of Rosamond, *quasi* Rosa Mundi (Rose of the World), is wrong. It is an ancient Teutonic name Rosmund, i. e., *Rose-mouth*, like Wahrmund (Pharamond), *True-mouth*.

M, page 186.

KING RICHARD AND BLONDEL.

"It is thus, we should think, quite evident, that the English nation were not for any time ignorant of the fate of their king and of the place of his captivity. Accordingly, none of the historians express any doubt on the subject; but a romantic tale of the discovery of his prison by a distinguished minstrel named Blondel de Nesle, gradually gained ground, and eventually is become a part of most histories of England. The tale is thus told in a manuscript chronicle of the thirteenth century:*

"Now we tell you of King Richard, whom the Duke of Austria held in prison, and no one knew aught of him, save only the duke and his councillors. Now it happened that he had for a long time had a minstrel who was born in Artois, and was named Blondiaus. This man resolved in himself that he would seek his lord in all countries till he had found him, or till he had heard tidings of him; and so he set forth, and he wandered day after day, so long by pool and marsh, that he had spent a year and a half, and never could hear any sure tidings of the king; and he rambled on till he came into Austria, as chance led him, and went straight to the castle where the king was in prison; and he took up his abode in the house of a widow woman, and asked her whose was that castle that was so fair, and strong, and well-seated. The hostess made answer, and said that it was the Duke of Austria's. 'Fair hostess,' said Blondiaus, 'is there any pris-

* Michaud, *Histoire des Croisades*, vol. II.

oner in it now ? ' Yea, doubtless,' said she, ' one who has been there these four years, but we cannot learn of a certainty who he is ; but they guard him very diligently, and we surely think that he is a gentleman and a great lord.' And, when Blondiaus heard these words, he marvelled, and he thought in his heart that he had found what he was in quest of, but he said naught of it to the hostess. He slept that night and was at ease ; and when he heard the horn sounding the day, he got up and went to the church to pray to God to aid him ; and then he came to the castle, and went up to the castellan, and told him that he was a player on the viol, and would willingly abide with him if it pleased him. The castellan was a young knight and handsome, and he said that he would willingly retain him. Then Blondiaus departed, and he went for his viol and his instruments, and he so served the castellan that he was well with all the family, and his services pleased much. So he stayed there all the winter, and he never could know who the prisoner was. At length, he was going one day, in the festival of Easter, through the garden which was by the tower, and he looked around to try if by any chance he could see the prisoner. So, while he was in thought, the king looked and saw Blondiaus, and thought how he should make himself known to him ; and he called to mind a song which they had made between them two, and which no one knew save the king. So he began loud and clearly to sing the first verse, for he sung right well. And when Blondiaus heard him, he knew of a certainty that it was his lord, and he had the greatest joy in his heart that ever he had on any day ; and he went forthwith out of the orchard and entered his chamber where he lay, and took his viol and began to play a note, and in playing he delighted himself on account of his master whom he had found. So Blondiaus tarried till Pentecost, and concealed himself so well that no one doubted of his secret. Then Blondiaus came to the castellan, and said to him, ' Sire, if it please you, I would willingly go to mine own country, for it is a long time since I have been there.' ' Blondiel, my fair brother,' said the castellan, ' this you will by no means do if you believe me, but you will remain here and I will do you a great good.' ' Certes, sire,' said Blondiaus, ' I would not stay on any wise.' When the castellan saw that he could not keep him, he gave him his congé, and therewith a good nag. Then Blondiaus parted from the castellan and journeyed till he came to England, and told the friends of the king and the barons where he had found the king and how. When they heard these tidings they were greatly rejoiced, for the king was the most liberal knight that ever wore a spur. And they took counsel among them to send to Austria to the duke to ransom the king, and they chose two knights to go thither of the most valiant and most wise. And they journeyed till they came to Austria to the duke, and they found him in one of his castles, and they saluted him on the part of the barons of England, and said to him, ' Sire, they send to you and pray that you will take ransom for their lord, and they

will give you as much as you desire.' The duke replied, that he would take counsel on it; and when he had taken counsel, he said, 'Lords, if ye wish to have him, ye must ransom him for two hundred thousand marks sterling, and make no reply, for it would be lost labour.' Then the messengers took leave of the duke, and said they would report it to the barons, and they would then take counsel on it. So they came back to England and told the barons what the duke had said, and they said that the matter should not stand for that. Then they made ready the ransom and sent it to the duke, and the duke delivered up to them the king; but he first made them give him good security that he should never be molested for it.'

"Another chronicle quoted by Fouchet* gives a similar account. It says that Blondel came one day before a window of the tower in which Richard was confined, and began to sing a song which they had made together. When he had sung it half through, the king took it up and sang the remainder, and thus Blondel knew that it was his master.

"It is scarcely necessary to say that romances like these are not to be set in comparison with the narratives of sober historians like Matthew Paris, and that, therefore, the whole tale of Richard and Blondel should be regarded as a mere fiction. It is very displeasing to the inquirer after historic truth to see such a writer as Sir James Mackintosh relating the tale as a truth on the authority of the chronicle just quoted. The reader should have been told that it is the sole authority, and its value should have been stated.†

"To this time also belongs the legend of King Richard's combat with the lion and 'robbing him of his heart,' whence he came to be called Cœur de Lion, or Lion-heart.

"We are told‡ that while he was a prisoner to the Emperor Henry, a fierce and hungry lion was one day let loose and turned at him, with the design, it was thought, that he might tear him to pieces, and the blame might be thrown on the negligence of the keeper. But Richard, nothing daunted, wrapped his cloak round his arm, and as the lion came on with open jaws and full of fury, he thrust his arm down his throat, and, grasping his heart, tore it out, and then ate it 'hot and raw,' whence, says, our author, he got the name of *Ricardus cor Leonis* (Richard Lion-heart).

"It is, perhaps, needless to inform the reader that the feat here recorded is an impossibility; and that the name which was given

* *Recueil de l'orig. de la langue et poésie Française, rime et romans*, p. 92.

† "He was one day (at Trifels) answered from without by a well-known voice, that of Blondel his minstrel, who had probably been sent from England to convey information to the king, and to gain intelligence of his situation."—*History of England*, i., p. 192. Richard was not in Trifels till Easter, and the two English abbots had met and conversed with him on his way thither.

‡ Knyghton, *De event. Angliæ*, l. ii., apud Twissen x., *Scriptores*, &c., p. 2408.

to Richard for his valour gave occasion to the legend."—*Crusaders* ii., p. 357-362.

N, page 254.

ROBERT BRUCE.

According to Fordun and Wintoun, Bruce and Comyn had previously agreed on insurrection. Bruce, being summoned to the court of England, was in London when Comyn wrote secretly to Edward, giving him information of the plot. Edward charged Bruce with it; he denied it; and the king appeared satisfied, but formed a secret determination to put him to death. That very night, when Bruce was at supper, his friend, the Earl of Gloucester (Gloverniæ), sent his chamberlain to him with twelve pennies and a pair of spurs; the money, he was told, was in payment of what he had lent the earl the day before. Bruce understood the enigmatic warning, and lost no time in making his escape to Scotland. On the borders he met a man whose appearance was suspicious; he slew him, and found on him letters from Comyn to Edward; and he now fully resolved to punish him for his treachery.

Of this journey to Scotland, we may observe, Langtoft and Hemingford say not a word. The tale gradually received additions; the pennies become crowns of gold; Bruce has a groom; there is a fall of snow; the horses are shod with the shoes reversed. Thus was formed the narrative we may read in Buchanan, and from him in Hume.

O, page 271.

MURDERERS OF EDWARD II.

"According to the judgment of the House of Peers in 1330, Mortimer commanded (he confessed it before his death, Rot. Parl., ii., 62), Gournay and Ogle perpetrated the murder. Mortimer suffered death; the other two had fled out of the kingdom; but a reward of 100*l.* was offered for the apprehension, or of 100 marks for the head of Gournay; and another reward of 100 marks for the apprehension, and of 40*l.* for the head of Ogle (*Id.*, ii., 54). What became of Ogle I know not; Gournay fled into Spain, and was apprehended by the magistrates of Burgos. At the request of the King of England, he was examined by them in the presence of an English envoy. What disclosures he made were kept secret, as the messengers who had him in charge received orders to behead him at sea on his way to England (*Rymer*, iv., 488-491). With respect to Lord Berkeley, he was tried at his own demand by a jury of knights and acquitted. The king, however, ordered him to be put under the custody of Sir Ralph Neville till the next parliament, for having placed officers of a bad character about the person of his father (Rot. Parl., ii., 57). But in that parliament, at the request of the lords, he was permitted to be at large till the truth could be learned from Gournay, *who was still alive*, but not

yet arrived from Spain (*Id.*, ii., 62). From these words it is probable that Ogle died before the capture of Gournay."—*Lingard*.

Mr. Hunter, in a paper read to the Society of Antiquarians in 1838, has shown, from original documents, that Gournay escaped from those who took him at Burgos; but that some time after he was discovered and arrested at Naples, and died at Bayonne on his way to England, whither it appears every care was taken that he should be brought alive.

P, page 298.

CRUELTY OF THE BLACK PRINCE.

Occasional barbarity was not incompatible with the virtues of chivalry, as the following incident will show. When the Black Prince heard of the revolt of the city of Limoges, "then," says Froissart, he "aware by his father's soule, whereby he was never forsworne, that he wolde gette it agayne, and that he wolde make the traytours dearly abyse their falanesse." The city was taken by mine, and the prince issued orders to give no quarter. "It was great pytie," says the chronicler, "to see the men, women, and chyl-dren that kneeled downe on their knees before the prince for mercy; but he was so inflamed with yre that he toke no hede to theym, so that none was herde, but all putte to dethe as they were mette withal, and suche as were nothing culpable. There was no pytie taken of the poor people who wrought never no maner of treason, yet they bought it dearerr than the great personages suche as had done the yvil and trespase. There was not so harde a hert within the cite of Limoges and yf he had any remembraunce of God but that wepte pyteously for the great mischiefe that they sawe before their eyen; for mo than three thousand men, women, and chyl-dren were slayne and beheaded that day; God have mercy on their soules! for I trowe they were martyrs."

We would not have it supposed that atrocities of this nature were peculiar to those times. Unfortunately, they are to be found in the annals of all ages; and the storm and massacre of Limoges were but trifles compared with the sack of Magdeburg by Count Tilly, in the Thirty Years' War, and those of Oczakow and Warsaw by the Russians in 1788 and 1795, to say nothing of the ravage of the Palatinate by the troops of Louis XIV. in 1669. Even Cromwell massacred the whole garrison and a large number of the inhabitants of Drogheda in Ireland.* Our object in noticing the barbarity of the Black Prince is to remove the erroneous impression produced by poets and romance-writers of the "Age of Chivalry," as being a period in which courtesy, generosity, humanity, and all the virtues showed with peculiar lustre; than which nothing can be more remote from the truth.

* See Russell's *Life of Cromwell*, ii., 16, *Harper's Family Library*.

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